

A bibliographical description and publishing history of Henry Stevenson’s and Thomas Southwell’s *The Birds of Norfolk* (1866 [1867]–1890), with notes on the vernacular and scientific names

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ABSTRACT: A bibliographical description and publishing history of *The Birds of Norfolk* is presented. Henry Stevenson (1833–1888) was the sole author of the first two volumes; following Stevenson’s death, Thomas Southwell (1831–1909) supplemented the third, including a memoir and portrait of the original author. The title-page dates are: volume I, 1866; volume II, 1870; volume III, 1890. However, the earliest demonstrable publication dates are: volume I, 19 January 1867; volume II, 3 September 1870; volume III, 21 October 1890. The original artists were James Reeve (1833–1920), Joseph Wolf (1820–1899) and an anonymous “young lady”. Lithographic stones were prepared by Wolf, Joseph Smit (1836–1929) and Julius Jury (1821–18??). They were printed by the firm of M. & N. Hanhart, and the colourist was William Smith. The wood engravings were unsigned. The ornithological nomenclature and systematic arrangement follow the third edition (1856) of *A History of British Birds* by William Yarrell (1784–1856). No new taxa are described in *The Birds of Norfolk*, but differences between the vernacular and scientific nomenclatures and the orthographies used by Stevenson, Southwell and Yarrell are listed, in case they might prove to be significant in the future.

KEYWORDS: Henry Stevenson, James Reeve, James William Walker, John Van Voorst, Joseph Smit, Joseph Wolf, Julius Jury, Norfolk, publication dates, publishing history, Thomas Southwell.

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INTRODUCTION

The Birds of Norfolk (three volumes: Stevenson, 1866 [1867], 1870; Stevenson and Southwell, 1890) is esteemed as a model of assiduous research, with its exceptionally detailed documentation of sources – “I trust that in no instance the sources from whence I have derived information have passed unnoticed” (Stevenson, 1866 [1867]: x). However, such conscientiousness results in very slow progress in writing and publication, and Henry Stevenson (1833–1888) (see Figure 1) unfortunately did not live to see the completion of his labour of love, the third volume of which was completed by Thomas Southwell (1831–1909) (see Figure 2). One of Stevenson’s obituarists (Anonymous, 1888) noted with regard to that volume “In accordance with Mr. Stevenson’s expressed desire its publication will be undertaken in due course by Mr. Thomas Southwell, of Norwich.”

The work remains the most comprehensive and reliable nineteenth-century account of the biology, behaviour and distribution of Norfolk birds, though their descriptions and taxonomic treatment depended largely on the previous work of William Yarrell (1784–1856) for the third edition of his *A History of British Birds* (Yarrell, 1856).

If publication of the first volume had not been delayed (as will be seen later) it would, according to Mullens & Swann (1917: 272), have shared the distinction of being one of the earliest county avifaunas to appear in Great Britain. Thus, in discussing the naturalist James Edmund Harting’s publications, they mentioned “the publication of his [Harting’s] earliest work, *The Birds of Middlesex*, which, with Stevenson’s *Birds of Norfolk*, the first volume of which was published the same year (1866),¹ inaugurated the long series of county avifaunas which have since appeared.” Both those works were published by John Van Voorst (1804–1898),² who, by the time of his retirement in 1886, had also produced accounts of the birds of several other English counties (see Freeman, 1980).

The objective of *The Birds of Norfolk* was described thus by Stevenson (1866 [1867]: ix):

The biographical sketches of the more common species have been written, rather with the hope of exciting an interest in the study of birds amongst those but little given to natural history pursuits, than with the idea of adding anything to the knowledge of such readers as are accustomed to observe for themselves, in their out-door rambles. Presuming, also, that all who are interested in the study of British ornithology, either possess their “Yarrell,” or the means of referring to such works in our public libraries, I have not attempted any description of form or plumage, except where rare and little known species have come under my notice in a recent state; thus enabling me to note down the more evanescent tints, or to take accurate measurements before preservation.

Nevertheless, the work includes some taxonomic and nomenclatural actions worthy of notice by ornithologists, as explained by Stevenson (1866 [1867]: xi):

¹ I possess a copy of *The Birds of Middlesex* (Harting, 1866) with an inserted announcement stating “VERY SHORTLY WILL BE PUBLISHED ... Volume I ... THE BIRDS OF NORFOLK”. Therefore, even if *The Birds of Norfolk* had actually commenced publication in 1866 (which it certainly did not), it apparently would still have been preceded by *The Birds of Middlesex*.

² John Van Voorst was perhaps the most highly respected natural-history publisher of the Victorian era, his career spanning 1833–1886; his business passed to his assistants, Gurney & Jackson, in 1886 (Williams, 2004).

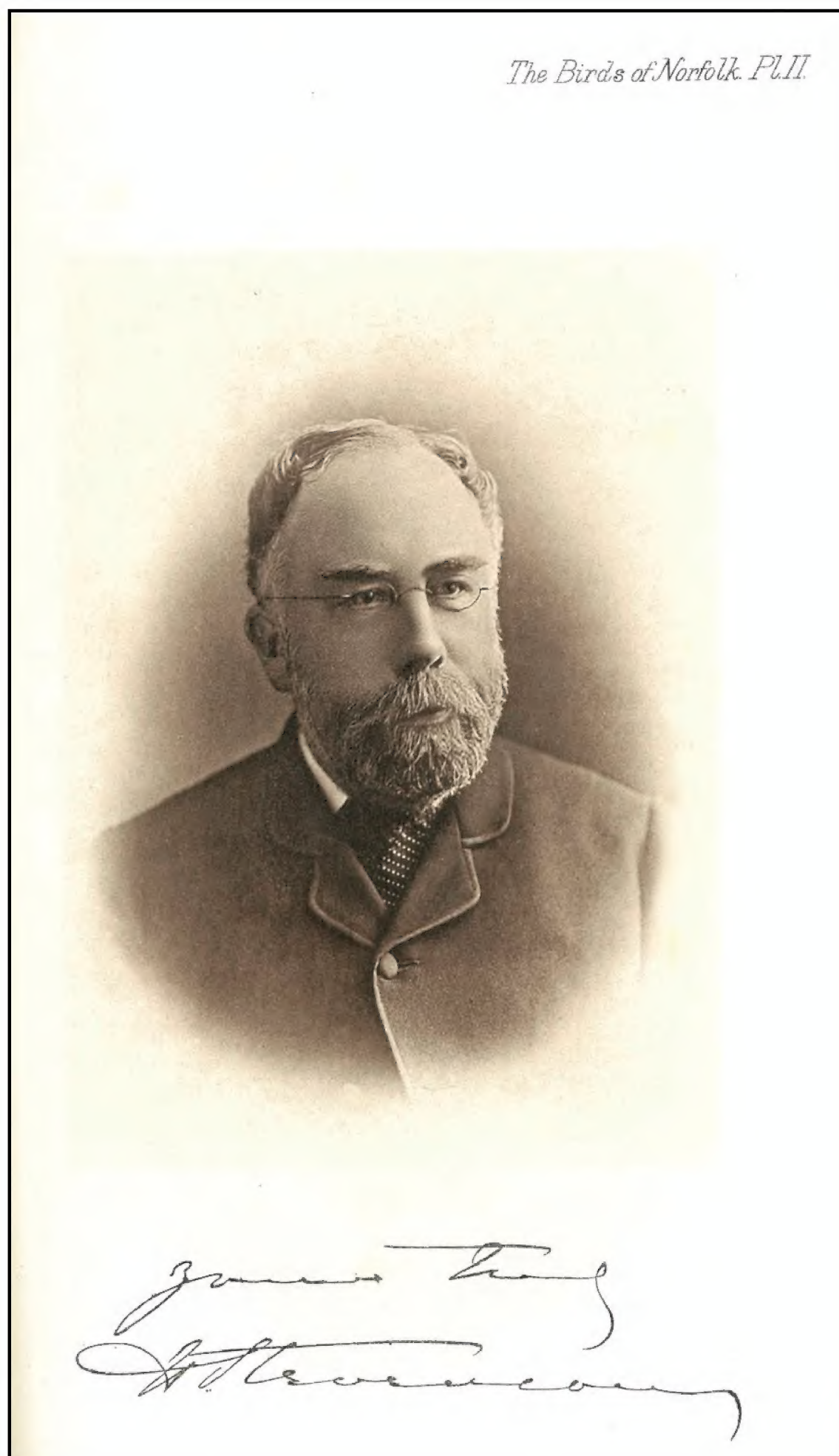


Figure 1. Henry Stevenson (1833–1888): plate II of volume III of *The Birds of Norfolk* (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).



Thomas Southwell

Figure 2. Thomas Southwell (1831–1909): from volume IX (part I) of *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society* (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).

In conclusion, I may state that as a contribution only to the wider field of British ornithology, I have adopted both the nomenclature and systematic arrangement of Yarrell's "British Birds," as being the most familiar and, therefore, easiest of reference.³ In such few cases, however, as I have deemed it necessary to differ, even from such an authority, for the sake of specific distinction, (vide *Falco candicans*, *Salicaria strepera*, &c.), the motive for so doing has been fully explained in the text.

The thorough introduction in volume I to the physical features of the county, "with reference simply to its attractions for the feathered tribe", comprises six faunal divisions: 1) the "Broad" district (pp. xvi–xxvii); 2) the "Cliff" district (pp. xxvii–xxxv); 3) the "Meal" district (pp. xxxv–xlvi); 4) the "Breck" district (pp. xlvi–liv); 5) the "Fen" district (pp. liv–lviii); and 6) the "Enclosed" district (pp. lviii–lxxii).⁴ In addition, several discursive passages of text are interspersed among the species accounts, namely, "Falconry in Norfolk" (volume I, pp. 12–17); "A summer's night on the broads" (volume I, pp. 120–123); "A summer's day on the broads" (volume I, pp. 188–195); "Plover netting in the Fens" (volume II, pp. 111–113); "Swan 'upping' on the Yare" (volume III, pp. 88–96); "St. Helen's Swan Pit" (volume III, pp. 96–102); "Norfolk swan marks" (volume III, pp. 102–111);⁵ "Stanford and Thompson meres" (volume III, pp. 139–142); and "Decoys in Norfolk" (volume III, pp. 170–177).

The work is of particular interest to zoological bibliographers because the title-page date of volume I is incorrect, and the dates on some of the plates are at variance with the dating of the volumes that include them (see p. 166). Furthermore, of historical interest regarding trade-binding is the very late example in volume III of "wire-stitching", *i.e.*, fixing gatherings with staples, rather than by sewing (Gaskell, 1974: 234).

DATING

Article 21 of the *International Code of Zoological Nomenclature* (International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature, 1999) sets out the procedure for determining the date of a publication, which is followed here. Dating of *The Birds of Norfolk* has not been addressed in the valuable compilations of relevant works published by the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History (Griffin et al., 1936; Griffin, 1943; Stearn & Townsend, 1953; Goodwin, 1957; Goodwin et al., 1962; Bridson & Harvey, 1971, 1973). Although it is well known that many natural-history monographs published in fascicles by John Van Voorst have incorrect publication dates on the title-pages of the consolidated volumes (see Williams, 2014, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2018a, 2019), the same may also be true of works originally published as complete volumes (see Williams, 2017d, 2018b).

³ The edition referred to of Yarrell's monograph, *A History of British Birds*, clearly must be the third (Yarrell, 1856).

⁴ Explanations of these habitats can be found in the digitized volumes available on the Biodiversity Heritage Library website, at the page numbers indicated above.

⁵ Ticehurst (1921) published some minor corrections to Stevenson's notes on swan marks.

The Birds of Norfolk, published in three volumes at irregular intervals, provides a further example. The title-page of volume I is dated 1866, which was uncritically accepted by Woodward (1915), Mullens & Swann (1917), Sonnenschein (1926), Nissen (1953) and Freeman (1980). However, as the preface was signed “NORWICH, December, 1866”, that year must be viewed with some suspicion. I have been unable to discover any advertisement or review dated 1866. In fact, the fortnightly trade-journal *The Publishers' Circular* (issue 709, volume 30, 1 April 1867, p. 181) records the appearance of volume I of *The Birds of Norfolk* in a list headed “New works published from the 15th to the 30th of March”. However, an advertisement in the *Norfolk Chronicle* of 19 January 1867 (p. 4) states “Just published”. The earliest acceptable publication date is therefore 19 January, and the preferred Harvard *referens* (*sensu* Williams, 2011) for volume I of *The Birds of Norfolk* is therefore “Stevenson, 1866 [1867]”. The years shown on the title-pages of volumes II and III are, however, correct.

The appearance of volume II, dated 1870, is recorded (although misprinted as *The Records of Norfolk!*) in *The Publishers' Circular* (issue 795, volume 33, 1 November 1870, p. 696) in a list headed “New works published from Oct. 15 to 31”. There are in the Norwich Castle Museum, Norfolk, a letter dated 15 October 1870 from Joseph Wolf, and another from the Rev. [Richard] Lubbock dated 3 September 1870, both thanking Stevenson for receipt of volume II; the latter date should therefore be regarded as the earliest confirmed publication date of the volume.⁶

Publication of volume III, dated 1890, is recorded in the lists of authors (p. 76) and titles (p. 93) in *The English Catalogue of Books for 1890* (Low, 1891) as having been issued in December 1890, but it actually appeared earlier, as evidenced by the ownership inscription “R Payne Gallwey. Thirkleby. October 25th 1890” in one of my copies. This is corroborated by the University of California's copy (once having belonged to L. Howard Irby), which is inscribed on the title-page “L H Irby. from Lilford. Oct^r 21st 1890”. This latter is therefore the earliest acceptable date of publication. These proofs of availability of volume III demonstrate remarkable efficiency in casing and despatch of copies, considering that a species record dated 13 September is mentioned in the addendum on p. xiii, which is possibly the last page of volume III to have been printed.

As seen from the advertisement in *Notes on the Birds of Rainham* (Prentis, 1894), Gurney & Jackson retained the stock of all three volumes together for sale at the full original price of £1 11s. 6d. to protect their investment in the late publication of volume III in 1890. However, no copies of *The Birds of Norfolk* were offered by the bookseller John Grant (1903) in his catalogue of some of Gurney & Jackson's remainders of Van Voorst's publications at reduced prices, which may mean that the title had gone out of print by then. It was most certainly, but not unexpectedly, out of print by 1926 (Sonnenschein, 1926: 1973).

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS

Sometimes to be found tipped-in at the end of *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Raptorial Birds in the Norfolk and Norwich Museum* (J. H. Gurney, senior, 1864) is a leaf announcing

⁶ These letters are in a grangerized interleaved copy of volume II (Norfolk Museums Service natural history collections: Cat. No. 39.093). According to Southwell (1890: xii), volume II was published in September 1870, but since Lubbock had, on 3 September 1870, “delayed a few days in writing”, it may well have appeared late in August.

“Preparing for publication, Demy 8vo., Price 10s. 6d., with four coloured illustrations, by Wolf, *The Birds of Norfolk*”. That would have been before July 1864, when Gurney’s book was published (Williams & Callery, 2008). Hence, it is clear that Stevenson’s original intention was to publish just a single volume, but during several years, the extent of the project was greatly expanded. Thus, the title-page of volume I proclaims the work to be in two volumes, whilst the title-page of volume II predicts a third volume, which, however, Stevenson failed to complete.

Letterpress

This description of the three volumes of *The Birds of Norfolk* is based on my three sets (RBW1–3) of volumes I to III, and two sets (RBW4–5) of volumes I and II, all in publisher’s cloth; and the three complete sets in publisher’s cloth belonging to the American Museum of Natural History (BHL1), the Smithsonian Libraries (BHL2) and the University of California Libraries (BHL3), all digitized on the Biodiversity Heritage Library website. The conventions for collational formulae and for calculations of sizes of complete printing-sheets follow those published by Gaskell (1974). Pagination of each volume herein includes all integral pages, even if blank and un-numbered. The sizes and nomenclature of Victorian printing-paper are provided by Gould (1876).

Despite the leaves being gathered in fours, the shape ratio of between 1.53 and 1.56 suggests an octavo format but since all edges are trimmed, corroboration by the likely positions of point-holes at the fore-edges is not possible. Nevertheless, multiplying up the leaf dimensions as for an octavo format gives about 432 × 280 mm (17.0 × 11.0 inches), which approximates to a trimmed half of a demy sheet of 22½ × 17¾ inches as given by Gould (1876). Hence, imposition must have been in half-sheets; the format is therefore octavo in fours, rather than quarto as erroneously stated by Woodward (1915: 2019), Nissen (1953: 170) and Freeman (1980: 329). However, Mullens & Swann (1917: 561) correctly identified the format as octavo.

Signing of the gatherings is conventional in volumes I and II, but is remarkably deviant from standard practice in volume III (see Williams, 2020 for a detailed explanation).⁷ Notable bibliographical features, other than the typographical errors shown in errata lists within the three volumes, are summarized in Table 1.

Volume I

The title-page of volume I (Figure 3) reads, in quasi-facsimile:

“THE | BIRDS OF NORFOLK, | WITH | REMARKS ON THEIR HABITS, MIGRATION, | AND
LOCAL DISTRIBUTION : | BY | HENRY STEVENSON, F.L.S., | MEMBER OF THE BRITISH
ORNITHOLOGISTS’ UNION. | IN TWO VOLUMES. | VOL. I. | “Etiam si sint alia graviora atque
meliora, tamen | nos studia nostra naturæ regula metiamur.” | Cic. de Officiis Lib. I., cap. 31. |
[22 mm rule] | LONDON : | JOHN VAN VOORST, 1, PATERNOSTER ROW, | NORWICH : |
MATCHETT AND STEVENSON. | 1866.”

⁷ Signatures J, V and W are omitted from volumes I and II, as is usual for the printers’ 23-letter alphabet for signing gatherings of leaves (see Williams, 2012), but on rare occasions the full 26-letter alphabet was employed in late Victorian times (see Williams, 2020 with particular regard to volume III).

Table 1. Notable bibliographical features of the three volumes of *The Birds of Norfolk*.
BHL = Biodiversity Heritage Library copies (BHL1 = American Museum of Natural History; BHL2 = Smithsonian Libraries; BHL3 = University of California); RBW1–5 = R. B. Williams’s copies; t-p. = title-page.

Feature	Volume I	Volume II	Volume III
Errata slips	At p. [v] (RBW1, 4, 5; BHL1–3); at t-p (RBW2); lacking in RBW3	At p. [1] (RBW1–5; BHL3); or p. [v] (BHL1, 2)	None (RBW1–3; BHL1–3); errata list in preliminary text (p. xiii)
Signature letter “T” on leaf T1 entire with ink blemish below	RBW2, 3 & 5; BHL1	Not applicable	Not applicable
Signature letter “T” on leaf T1 defective (lower stem missing)	RBW1; BHL3	Not applicable	Not applicable
Signature letter “T” absent from leaf T1 (only an ink blemish – not the same as the one below an entire letter “T”)	RBW4; BHL2	Not applicable	Not applicable
Page numeral 443 with poor impression of “3” (top missing)	RBW1, 4, 5; BHL2	Not applicable	Not applicable
Page 443 mis-numbered 344 with dropped “3” and first “4” poor impression	RBW2, 3; BHL1, 3	Not applicable	Not applicable
Van Voorst’s advertisements	None (RBW1–5; BHL1, 3); present in BHL2 (advertising vol. II)	Present (advertising vol. II) (RBW1–5; BHL1, 2); none in BHL3	None (RBW1–3; BHL1–3)
Endpapers	Brown (RBW1–5; BHL3); beige and fawn ornate large diaper pattern (BHL1); beige and fawn foliar pattern, as also for vol. III (BHL2)	Brown (RBW1–5; BHL2, 3); beige and fawn ornate large diaper pattern (BHL1)	Beige and fawn foliar pattern (RBW1–3; BHL2–3); beige and fawn ornate large diaper pattern (BHL1)

The collational formula for publisher’s ideal copy (*sensu* Gaskell, 1974: 315) is:
Demy 8vo in fours: [a]⁴ b–i⁴ B–3L⁴ [\$2 signed (–[a]1, [a]2, b2, c2, d2, e2, f2, g2, h2, i2)]. 260 leaves. Leaf size, all edges trimmed: 216 × 140 mm (shape ratio 1.54).

The composition is:
lxxii + 448 pages; [i–v] vi–xii [xiii] xiv–lxxii [1] 2–437 [438–439] 440–445 [446–448]. Paginated at top, outer corners of pages. Pages in square brackets, as shown here, are not numbered.

The contents are as follows:
[i] half-title; [ii] blank; [iii] title-page; [iv] blank; [v]–xii preface; [xiii]–lxxii introduction; [1]–437 accounts of species; [438] demarcation of end of volume I; [439]–445 index to vol. I; [446] printer’s imprint; [447–448] blank.

In publishers’ ideal copy, this volume includes no integral or inserted advertisements. However, a conjugate pair of leaves of advertisements for Van Voorst’s books (the same as usually inserted in volume II) is unexpectedly inserted at the very end of volume I in only

one (BHL2) of the eight copies examined, which notably has the later foliar-patterned endpapers usually associated with volume III (see Table 1), so is apparently a late casing.

Table 1 summarizes some compositorial errors and some other notable features. A printed slip comprising 14 lines of “ERRATA AND CORRIGENDA.” occurs in seven out of eight copies examined, inserted at page [v] in six of them and at the title page in the seventh (RBW2). The impression of the signature “T” on leaf T1 (page 137) is entire, but has a faint mark of the lower body-edge in four out of eight copies; it lacks the lower part of the letter in two copies; and the letter is absent altogether in another two copies, suggesting that it was originally loose in the forme and eventually fell out during the print-run. In addition, the impression of the “3” in page numeral 443 lacks the upper part in four out of eight copies examined, but the same page is numbered 344 in the other four; in an attempt to correct the defect, the “3” was replaced, apparently hurriedly, before, instead of after, the “44”, also resulting in a dropped (skewed) numeral.

Volume II

The title-page of volume II (Figure 4) reads, in quasi-facsimile:

“THE | BIRDS OF NORFOLK, | WITH | REMARKS ON THEIR HABITS, MIGRATION, | AND
LOCAL DISTRIBUTION: | BY | HENRY STEVENSON, F.L.S., | MEMBER OF THE BRITISH
ORNITHOLOGISTS’ UNION. | IN THREE VOLUMES. | VOL. II. | “Cum medio celeres revolant
ex æquore mergi, | Clamoremque ferunt ad litora ; cumque marinæ | In sicco ludunt fulicæ ;
notasque paludes | Deserit, atque altam supra volat ardea nubem.” | Geor. Lib. I., l. 361. | [22 mm
rule] | LONDON: | JOHN VAN VOORST, 1, PATERNOSTER ROW, | NORWICH : |
STEVENSON AND CO.. [sic] | 1870.”

The collational formula for publisher’s ideal copy is:

Demy 8vo in fours: π^2 [A]⁴ B–3L⁴ [3M]² [\$2 signed (– π 1, π 2, [A]1, [A]2, 3L2; 3D2 signed ‘3D3’)]. 232 leaves. Leaf size, all edges trimmed: 217 × 139 mm (shape ratio 1.56).

The composition is:

xii + 452 pages; [i–ii] [i–v] vi–x [1] 2–443 [444–445] 446–449 [450–452]. Paginated at top, outer corners of pages. Pages in square brackets, as shown here, are not numbered.

The contents are as follows:

[i–ii] blank; [i] half-title; [ii] blank; [iii] title-page; [iv] blank; [v]–x preface; [1]–443 accounts of species; [444] demarcation of end of volume II; [445]–449 index to vol. II; [450] printer’s imprint; [451–452] blank.

Table 1 summarizes the principal bibliographical features. A printed slip comprising 13 lines of “ERRATA AND CORRIGENDA.” is inserted at page [1] in six out of eight copies examined, and at p. [v] in two others. A separate conjugate pair of leaves advertising volume II with reviews of volume I of *The Birds of Norfolk*, as well as advertisements for other ornithological books of Van Voorst’s, is usually tipped-in (in seven out of eight copies examined). They are often quired within the conjugate pair of [3M]² (RBW2–5; and in BHL1 and 2, from both of which [3M]² is excised); or inserted at the very end of the volume leaving [3M]² intact (RBW1). However, BHL3 lacks both [3M]² and the advertisements.

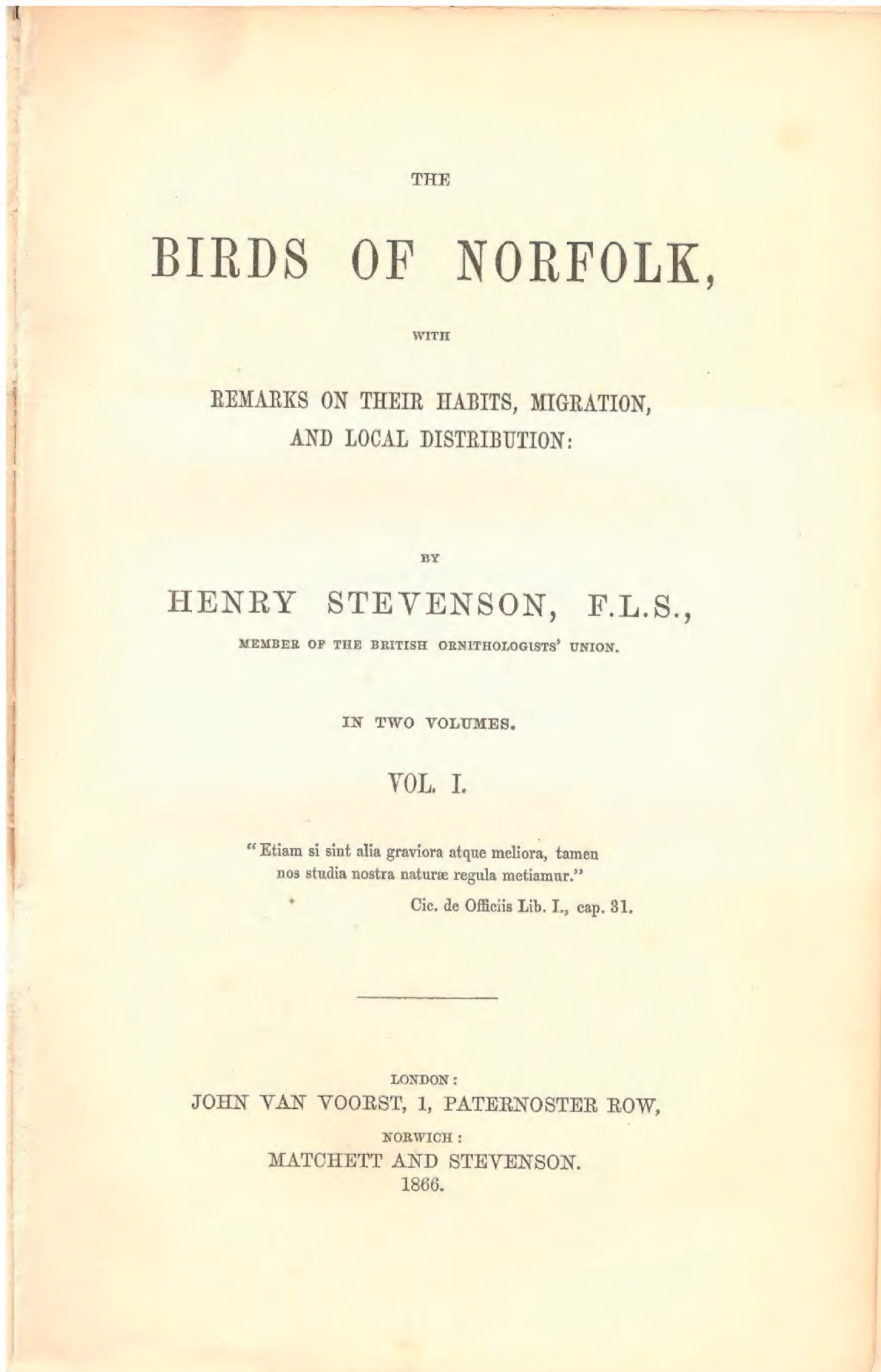


Figure 3. Title-page of volume I of *The Birds of Norfolk* (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).

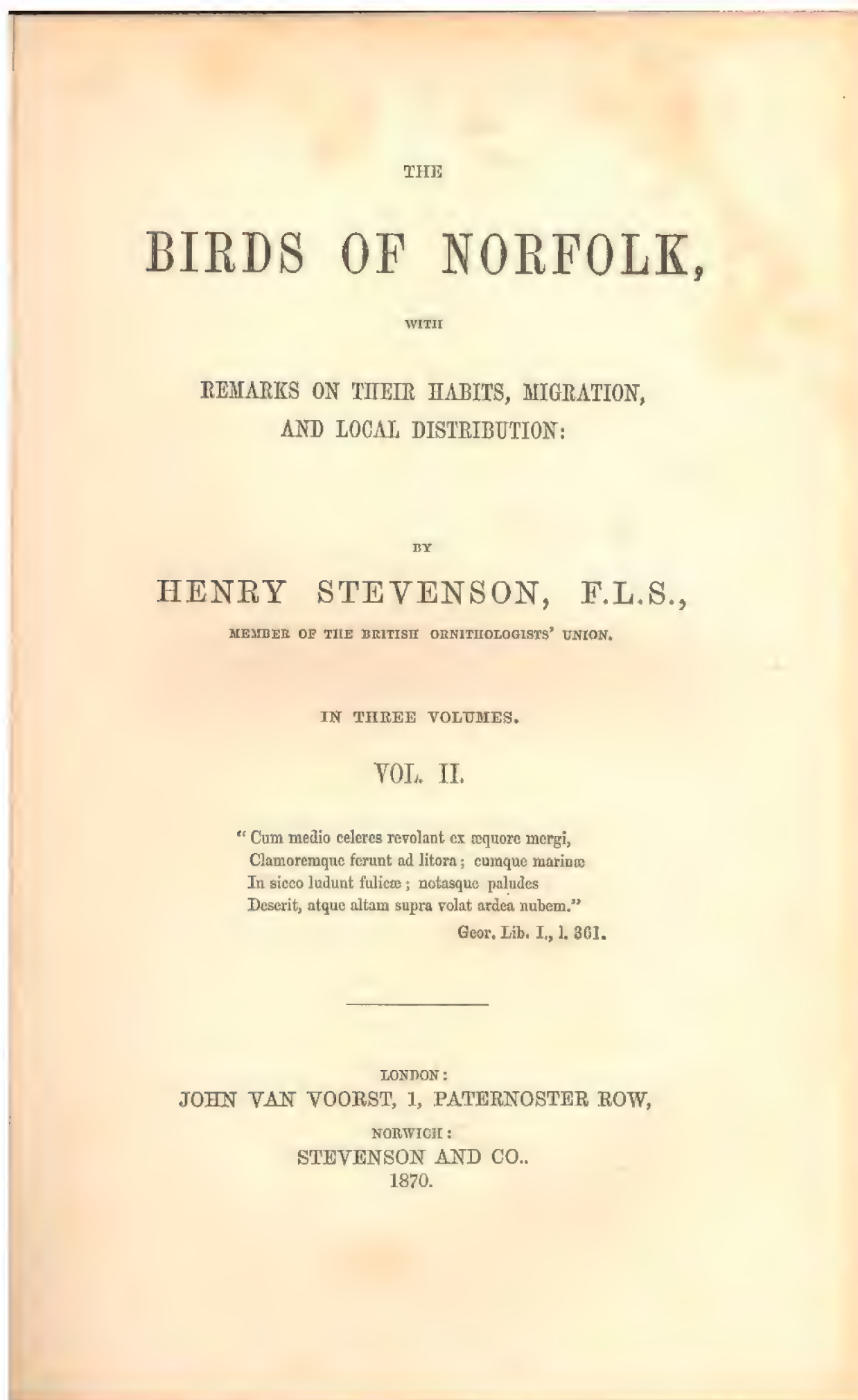


Figure 4. Title-page of volume II of *The Birds of Norfolk* (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).

THE
BIRDS OF NORFOLK,

WITH
REMARKS ON THEIR HABITS, MIGRATION,
AND LOCAL DISTRIBUTION:

BY
HENRY STEVENSON, F.L.S.

MEMBER OF THE BRITISH ORNITHOLOGISTS' UNION.

CONTINUED BY
THOMAS SOUTHWELL, F.Z.S.

MEMBER OF THE BRITISH ORNITHOLOGISTS' UNION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

"The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works. Those highly magnifying him, whose judicious inquiry into his acts, and deliberate research into his creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration."—Sir THOMAS BROWNE.

"Religio Medici," Wilkin's ed., 1835, vol. ii., p. 19.

LONDON:
GURNEY AND JACKSON, 1, PATERNOSTER ROW
(SUCCESSORS TO MR. VAN VOORST).

NORWICH:
NORFOLK CHRONICLE CO., LIMITED.
1890.

Figure 5. Title-page of volume III of *The Birds of Norfolk*; note rust marks of wire-stitching (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).

Volume III

The title-page of volume III (Figure 5) reads, in quasi-facsimile:

“THE | BIRDS OF NORFOLK, | WITH | REMARKS ON THEIR HABITS, MIGRATION, | AND
LOCAL DISTRIBUTION : | BY | HENRY STEVENSON, F.L.S. | MEMBER OF THE BRITISH
ORNITHOLOGISTS’ UNION. | CONTINUED BY | THOMAS SOUTHWELL, F.Z.S. | MEMBER
OF THE BRITISH ORNITHOLOGISTS’ UNION. | IN THREE VOLUMES. | VOL. III. | “The
wisdom of God receives small honour from those | vulgar heads that rudely stare about, and with
a gross | rusticity admire his works. Those highly magnifying | him, whose judicious inquiry into
his acts, and deliberate | research into his creatures, return the duty of a devout | and learned
admiration.”—Sir THOMAS BROWNE. | “Religio Medici,” Wilkin’s ed., 1835, vol. ii., p. 19. | [22
mm rule] | LONDON : | GURNEY AND JACKSON, 1, PATERNOSTER ROW | (SUCCESSORS
TO MR. VAN VOORST). | NORWICH : | NORFOLK CHRONICLE CO., LIMITED. | 1890.”

Construction of the collational formula for volume III presents a problem because the signing of the gatherings deviates so considerably from conventional printers’ practice. Thus, the sequence B–Z omits J and U but includes V and W. It is impossible to say whether U is mis-signed V, or whether V is an intentional alternative for U. Although U is included in, and V is omitted from, the first sequence in volumes I and II, the significance of those facts is uncertain since those volumes were printed so long before volume III (see later Publishing History). Signature W in volume III is, however, definitely aberrant. The signing of the sequence 2A–2Z is even more odd; although 2J is omitted, 2U, 2V and 2W are included. These unexpected additional signatures necessitate an “explicit expanded collation formula” as proposed by Williams (2020).

Accordingly, the formula for publisher’s ideal copy is as follows:

Demy 8vo in fours: [a]⁴ b² [c]1 B–I⁴ K–T⁴ V⁴ W⁴ X–Z⁴ 2A–2I⁴ 2K–2T⁴ 2U⁴ 2V⁴ 2W⁴ 2X–2Z⁴ 3A–3F⁴ [\$2 signed (–[a]1, [a]2, b2, [c]1); Q2 signed ‘2’ in one copy (RBW2); U signed ‘V’; supernumerary gatherings signed ‘W’, ‘2U’, ‘2V’ and ‘2W’)]. 223 leaves. Leaf size, all edges trimmed: 216 × 141 mm (shape ratio 1.53).

The composition is:

xiv + 432 pages; [i–v] vi–vii [viii] ix–xiii [xiv] [1] 2–374 [375] 376–414 [415] 416–420 [421] 422–432. Paginated at top, outer corners of pages. Pages in square brackets, as shown here, are not numbered. Numerals “5” in 35 and “3” in 63 are bad impressions.

The contents are as follows:

[i] half-title; [ii] blank; [iii] title-page; [iv] blank; [v]–vii introduction; [viii]–xii memoir of author; xiii errata and addendum; [1]–160 Stevenson’s accounts of species; 161–374 Southwell’s accounts of species; [375]–384 Appendix A; 385–409 Appendix B; 410–412 Appendix C; 413–414 Appendix D; [415]–420 index to vol. III; [421]–432 general index to vols I–III; 432 printer’s imprint.

In publishers’ ideal copy, this volume includes no integral or inserted advertisements. It includes no errata slips, since errors are listed in the preliminary text (p. xiii); the error of the Sheld Drake heading, noted as on page 153 is actually on page 155. Furthermore, to the errata given there, the following should be added:

THE BIRDS OF NORFOLK;

BEGUN BY THE LATE

HENRY STEVENSON, F.L.S.,

AND AFTER HIS DEATH CONTINUED BY

THOMAS SOUTHWELL.

[All efforts to find the remaining portion of the article printed in 1877, which breaks off at the end of the last page, having failed, though it is known that the article had been completed, I have done my best from other sources to supply the deficiency.]

The letter from the Rev. John Fountaine, quoted by Mr. Stevenson on the preceding page, is dated May 8th, 1875, which fixes the year 1850 as the date of the successful introduction of the gadwall at Narford.

Since that time the number of these birds breeding in Norfolk has greatly increased, as also the area over which they are spread. Whether or not the large number of gadwalls which now nest yearly in the south-western portion of the county are all descendants of Mr. Fountaine's birds, or, as seems probable, their numbers have been increased by wild birds attracted by those which

x

January, 1870; and an adult male at Hunstanton, during the severe frost that prevailed in February, 1871,* but from the fact that for more than twenty years a naturalized race of gadwalls—the descendants of a pair of wild birds taken in a decoy and turned off, when pinioned, on the lake at Narford—have bred regularly and numerous in the neighbourhood, it is impossible, at least on that side of the county, to determine true migrants from those reared in that part of Norfolk.

For the history of these Norfolk gadwalls, I am indebted to the Rev. John Fountaine, of Southacre, who informs me that, so far as his memory serves him, the original pair were taken, about five-and-twenty years ago, in Dersingham decoy (near Lynn), and were given to him by George Skelton, who made and resided at that decoy, which is now destroyed. He says, "I cut a very small portion off the pinions of these two birds, so that they were able to fly for a considerable time, but no doubt dared not trust themselves to the regular spring flight of migration when the other fowl left; the result was that they bred upon the lake at Narford, and their progeny have continued to do so ever since. The greatest number I ever counted in any one year was seventy, but of course their numbers were much reduced by shooting in the neighbourhood, or there would have been many more. This, in a thickly populated country like England, renders the introduction of wild species almost impossible."

That many of these ducks, as Mr. Fountaine states,

* Mr. Baker, of Cambridge, in some notes on Norfolk birds sent to him for preservation, mentions a mature male and two female gadwalls, shot at Littleport, March 5th, 1865, but this locality is in the Isle of Ely beyond the western limits of our "Fen" district.

Figure 6. Transition of text from Stevenson's (p. 160) to Southwell's (p. 161) in volume III of *The Birds of Norfolk* (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).

- 1) For “Otober” read “October” (line 34, p. 380).
- 2) For “Meliozophilus” read “Melizophilus” (line 3, p. 387; line 16, p. 418; line 18, p. 427).
- 3) For “Aster” read “Astur” (line 25, p. [421]).

Southwell's (1890: xii) account of the printing would imply that sufficient sheets of the letterpress of the third volume up to the end of Stevenson's manuscript were printed in 1877 to immediately satisfy the projected publication of volume III – it is extremely unlikely that the type would have been kept standing while the likelihood that Stevenson would have supplied the remaining text became progressively less and less. It is not known why Stevenson abandoned the printing at this point, although his declining health is noted by Southwell (1890: xii). Eventually it was some 13 years before Southwell was able to complete the work. His continuation commences on p. 161 of volume III (Figure 6), immediately following Stevenson's curtailed account of the Gadwall (see p. 185). The colour of the paper from p. 161 onwards is somewhat different, to a greater or lesser extent in various copies, from that of the previous pages, which seems to confirm that the printing of Stevenson's contribution to the volume, ending with gathering W, was completed quite separately from that of Southwell's portion of the text, which begins with gathering X.

In similar circumstances, measuring the thicknesses of differently coloured printing-papers confirmed the observation of a tonal difference in the example of J. H. Gurney senior's *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Raptorial Birds in the Norfolk and Norwich Museum* (Williams & Callery, 2008). The same hypothesis in the present case was tested here in volume III by statistical comparison⁸ of the paper thicknesses in the six gatherings Q–W with that in the six gatherings X–2C. In two copies, the mean thicknesses of individual leaves in the two sequences of gatherings were not statistically significantly different (in RBW1, $P = 0.511$; in RBW2, $P = 0.875$), but in RBW3 the difference was significant ($P = 0.033$). Notably, the tonal difference between the papers in RBW3 was the most marked of those observed, so it may be that more than one batch of paper was used to print Southwell's continuation. Although the measurements in three copies revealed only a very minor difference, the paper(s) for Southwell's text being overall only *ca* 1.7% thicker than that used for Stevenson's original text (mean thickness ($n = 18$) of 0.00464 *vs* 0.00472 inch), this does not disprove that Stevenson's text was printed earlier than Southwell's. Indeed, the extremely unusual supernumerary signatures employed for Southwell's contribution (see Williams, 2020) strongly suggest that the compositor for Stevenson's and Southwell's manuscript was not the same man, as might reasonably be expected after a delay of about 13 years.

Illustrations

The 1864 announcement, in Gurney's *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Raptorial Birds in the Norfolk and Norwich Museum* (see p. 156), that a single volume of *The Birds of Norfolk* was in preparation indicates that only four coloured plates by Joseph Wolf were planned, but by 1865, he had prepared an additional plate (see figure 7). The three volumes together include five coloured and four sepia-tinted lithographic plates of birds or habitats by Wolf and other artists.⁹

⁸ By a two-tailed *t*-test with 10 d.f. and $\alpha = 0.05$. Leaf thicknesses (one random leaf per gathering) were measured *ca* 2.5 cm from the middle fore-edge with a micrometer to an accuracy of 0.0005 inch (imperial).

⁹ The entries in various catalogues and bibliographies are incorrect. For instance, Freeman (1980) states only “3 vols, 5 col. + 3 plain pls, portr., text figs.” with which Mullens & Swann (1917) concur, whilst Nissen (1953) simply recorded “3 Bde mit 8 Taf.” and Woodward (1915) did not specify the number of plates at all.

The additional portrait of Stevenson is a collotype (identified following criteria of Gascoigne, 2004). There are also three wood-engravings. Of the five plates that are dated, all are given as 1865, so were ready long before any of the three volumes were published. All were printed by the firm of M. & N. Hanhart.¹⁰

Identification of the artists is facilitated by Stevenson's generosity in his attributions of the various tasks involved in the production of the plates for volumes I and II. However, the attributions made by Southwell in volume III are rather inconsistent, and the colourist is not mentioned at all. The original artists were well-known bird painters or naturalists, namely, James Reeve (1833–1920)¹¹ and Joseph Wolf (1820–1899).¹² Drawings onto the stone were made by Wolf himself, Joseph Smit (1836–1929)¹³ or Julius Jury (1821–18??).¹⁴

Rubrics such as "J. Wolf. & J. Jury lith" on plates may appear to be ambiguous, but the announcement of *The Birds of Norfolk* (see footnote 1 and Figure 7) in *The Birds of Middlesex* (Harting, 1866) explicitly identifies Wolf as the artist for the five plates so lettered in the three volumes. The term "lithograph[er]" may denote either the person who transferred an image to the stone, or the person who printed the resulting image on paper, but since M. & N. Hanhart, the firm of lithographers, is shown on the plates to have printed them, it follows that Jury must have transferred Wolf's paintings onto stones.

Volume I

Volume I contains two plates and one wood engraving.

The frontispiece is an un-numbered sepia-tinted lithograph headed "*The Birds of Norfolk.*" and captioned at bottom centre, " 'BARGATE' SURLINGHAM BROAD." (Figure 8). At bottom left is "J Wolf. & J Jury. lith." [sic]; at bottom right is "M. & N. Hanhart. imp" [sic]; and at the bottom below the caption is "John Van Voorst Paternoster Row. 1865." The original water-colour painting was by James Reeve (see Figure 9), curator of the Norfolk and Norwich Museum (Stevenson, 1866 [1867]: xii).

Opposite page 376 is a hand-coloured lithograph headed "*The Birds of Norfolk. Pl. II.*" and captioned at bottom centre, "PALLAS'S SANDGROUSE.".¹⁵ At bottom left is "J.Wolf. del, et, lith." [sic]; at bottom right is "M. & N. Hanhart imp" [sic]; and at the bottom below

¹⁰ See Jackson (1999) for a company history.

¹¹ For an obituary, see Long (1921). Reeve, was one of the original members of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society and curator of the Norwich Castle Museum. He was an accomplished landscape artist, as evidenced by his contribution of illustrations for *The Birds of Norfolk*.

¹² For a biography, see Palmer (1895).

¹³ For a biography, see Stevenson & Viljoen (2001).

¹⁴ I have failed to discover any detailed biographical account of this lithographer, who signed himself only as J. Jury. Root & Johnson (1986a, 1986b) identified him, without any source reference, as Julius Jury (1821–1870). However, his vital dates are given by Jackson (2000) as 1821–1876, but also with no supporting evidence. A Polish-language website states that Julius Jury, a Pomeranian, was born on 30 July 1821 in Konikow (now Konikowo), and died on 15 January 1893 in Köslin (now Koszalin); it is not known if this is the lithographer Jury (pers. comm., Herman Reichenbach, 15 October 2020).

¹⁵ This plate is described by Palmer (1895: 318) as an "auto-lithograph", i.e., Wolf himself drew the image directly on the stone (as explicitly indicated), rather than having another person copy his original drawing in reverse on the stone. The term "auto-lithograph" was introduced in 1893 to differentiate between images drawn on the stone by the original artist and those copied onto stones by trade craftsmen (Twyman, 2013: 293).

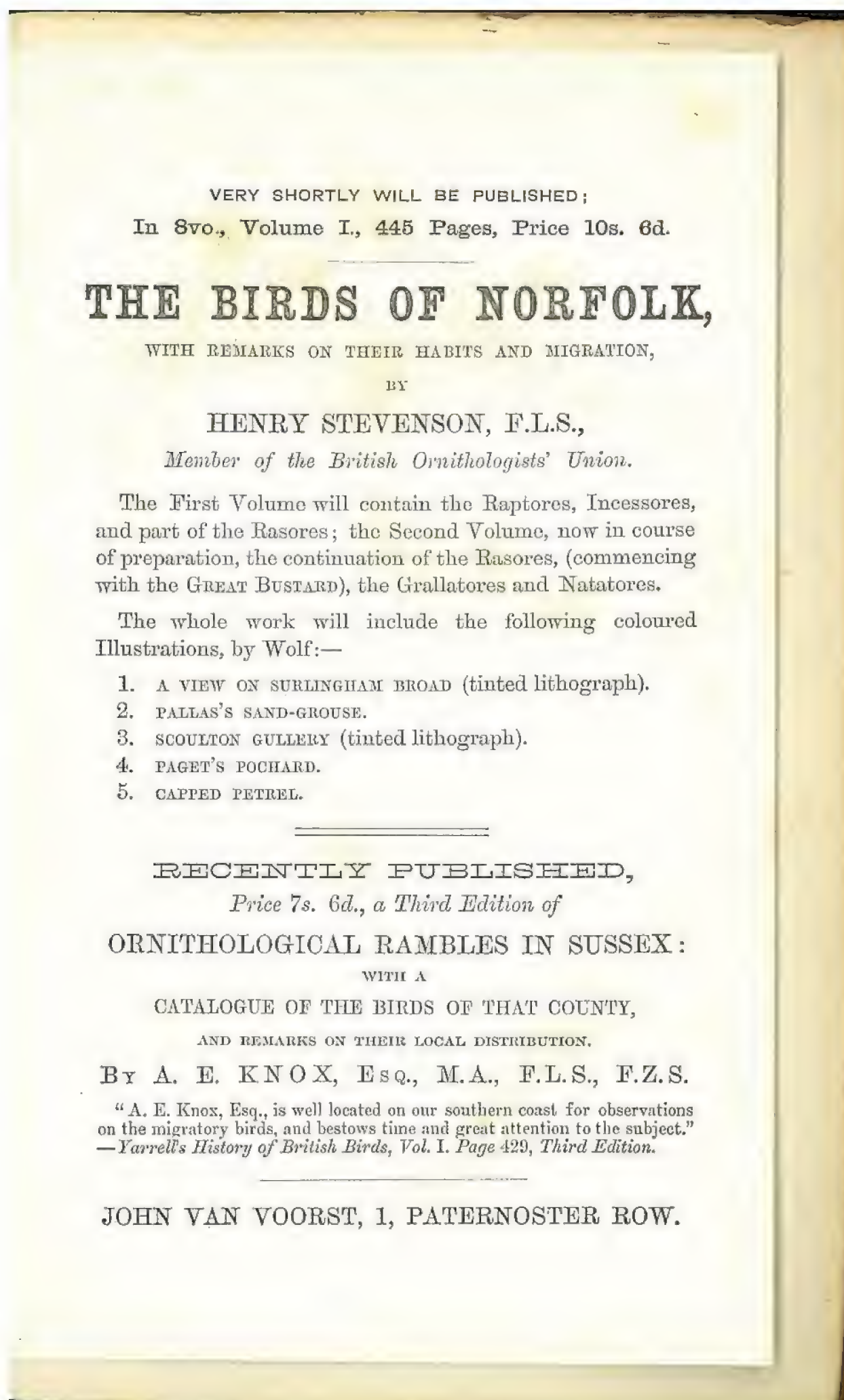


Figure 7. Announcement of *The Birds of Norfolk* in *The Birds of Middlesex* (Harting, 1866) (109 × 180 mm) (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).



Figure 8. Frontispiece of volume I of *The Birds of Norfolk*: Surlingham Broad by James Reeve (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).



Figure 9. James Reeve (1833–1920): from volume XI (part II) of *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society* (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).

the caption is "John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row. 1865.". Colouring of the lithograph was by William Smith (Stevenson, 1866 [1867]: xii).

An unsigned wood engraving, lacking any figure number or caption, is on p. 417.

Volume II

Volume II contains three plates.

The frontispiece is an un-numbered hand-coloured lithograph headed "*The Birds of Norfolk*" and captioned at bottom centre, "GREAT BUSTARD". At bottom left is "J. Smit lith."; at bottom right is "M & N. Hanhart imp" [sic]. Although the original artist is not indicated on the plate, Palmer (1895: 318) attributed the drawing to Wolf, as is confirmed in the preface, where Smit is stated to have executed the drawing and colour pattern on the stone, and the colouring of the lithograph was by William Smith (Stevenson, 1870: x).

Opposite page 56 is an un-numbered sepia-tinted plate headed "*The Birds of Norfolk*" and captioned at bottom centre, "VIEW ON THETFORD WARREN.". At bottom right is "M & N. Hanhart lith" [sic]. The sketch, both lithographed and printed by Hanhart's, was made on the spot by James Reeve, but has lost some of its precision in being reduced on the stone (Stevenson, 1870: x).

Opposite page 360 is an un-numbered sepia-tinted plate headed "*The Birds of Norfolk*" and captioned at bottom centre, "BREYDON 'FLATS' NEAR YARMOUTH.". At bottom right is "M & N. Hanhart lith" [sic]. Reeve was again the original artist (Stevenson, 1870: x), and Hanhart's both the lithographers and printers.

Volume III

Volume III contains five plates and two wood engravings.

The frontispiece (Figure 10) is a sepia-tinted plate headed "*The Birds of Norfolk. Pl. 1.*" [sic] and captioned at bottom centre, "SCOULTON MERE | Breeding place of the Blackheaded Gull.". At bottom left is "J. Wolf. & J. Jury lith" [sic]; at bottom right is "M & N .Hanhart imp" [sic]; and at the bottom below the caption is "John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row. 1865.". Wolf drew the original scene depicted (see below).

Opposite page [viii] is a collotype portrait of Stevenson, headed "*The Birds of Norfolk. Pl. II.*" and at bottom centre is "Yours truly | H. Stevenson" in his hand-writing script.



Figure 10. Frontispiece of volume III of *The Birds of Norfolk*: Scoulton Mere by Joseph Wolf (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).



Figure 11. Lithograph opposite page 208 of volume III of *The Birds of Norfolk*: Supposed hybrid duck, "Paget's Pochard", by Joseph Wolf (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).



Figure 12. Lithograph opposite page 361 of volume III of *The Birds of Norfolk*: Capped Petrel by Joseph Wolf (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).

Opposite page 208 is a hand-coloured plate (Figure 11) headed "*The Birds of Norfolk, Pl. III.*" and captioned at bottom centre, "SUPPOSED HYBRID DUCK. | 'Paget's Pochard.'" At bottom left is "J. Wolf, del, et lith." [sic]; at bottom right is "M & N Hanhart imp" [sic]; and at the bottom below the caption is "John Van Voorst.Paternoster Row. 1865." [sic]. Wolf apparently began this illustration in 1862, but did not complete it until early 1865 (see volume III, p. 208). It was presumably, therefore, one of the four plates planned at the time of the preliminary announcement of a single volume (see p. 156).

Opposite page 361 is a hand-coloured plate (Figure 12) headed "*The Birds of Norfolk. Pl. IV.*" and captioned at bottom centre, "CAPPED PETREL." At bottom left is "J. Wolf, del,et,lith." [sic]; at bottom right is "M & N Hanhart imp." [sic]; and at the bottom below the caption is "John Van Voorst,Paternoster Row, 1865." [sic]. Several mentions of Wolf confirm him as the original artist (see volume III, p. 362).

Opposite page 381 is a hand-coloured plate headed "*The Birds of Norfolk. Pl. V.*" and captioned at bottom centre, "FEATHERS OF THE | WALL-CREEPER." At bottom left is "J. Smit lith."; at bottom right is "Hanhart imp.". The original is a painting, executed in 1792 by an anonymous "young lady" for Robert Marsham (1708–1797); it came into the hands of Thomas Bell (1792–1880) who lent it to Professor Alfred Newton (1829–1907) by whom it was made available to Southwell (see volume III, pp. 380–382).

The first wood engraving is on p. 129; it is unsigned and lacks any figure number or caption. It is described in the text as a diagram of artificial nesting-burrows of semi-domesticated sheld ducks. The second wood engraving is on p. 363; also unsigned without a figure number or caption. It represents life-size the head of the capped petrel, copied from an original illustration in *The Zoologist* (Newton, 1852: 3693); unfortunately, Newton did not identify the original artist.

There is a curious inconsistency between the date of 1865 on the illustration of Scoulton Mere (Figure 10, the frontispiece of volume III) and Southwell's statement in the same volume about his visit there with Wolf (see Southwell, 1890: 327–328):

The view of the "hearth" ¹⁶ and gulls at Scoulton, which forms the frontispiece of the present volume, was taken by Mr. Joseph Wolf on the occasion of a visit paid by him to the gullery, on the 26th June, 1872, in company with Mr. Stevenson, Prof. Newton, and the late Mr. E. C. Newcome; and all who know the place will recognise the faithful likeness which that masterly hand has portrayed of the singularly beautiful scene presented

Clearly, these dates are incompatible, yet were unquestioningly accepted by J. H. Gurney, junior, 1920: 15). The simplest and most likely explanation for this inconsistency may be a *lapsus calami* in Southwell's manuscript or a printer's typographical error, either of which could have resulted in the printing of the year 1872 instead of 1862 in the letterpress. This hypothesis is supported by the following letter from Wolf to Stevenson: ¹⁷

¹⁶ The so-called "hearth" is actually the island in the middle of the mere (Stevenson, 1872a: 23).

¹⁷ This letter is in a grangerized interleaved copy of volume III (Norfolk Museums Service natural history collections: Cat. No. 39.093).

London, 59 Berners Street
Oxford Street
June the 12/62

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged by your letter of the 12th;—either the 24th or the 25th of this month or any other day you may be pleased to name for the Scoulton trip will suit me very well, as for the next 3 weeks I am only doing such work which I may leave at any time. If therefore in the mean time you will kindly arrange with M^r Newton and let me know the result I shall be most happy to be punctual to the appointment.

Yours very truly
J. Wolf

However, the mysteries surrounding this frontispiece do not end there; apart from Wolf's painting, probably done in 1862, two others were made of the "hearth" in Scoulton Mere, both by James William Walker (1831–1898).^{18, 19} Jackson (2000) has documented, from letters between Wolf and Stevenson, a series of events involving the first of them (see footnote 18), from which she has surmised the 1865 lithograph to have been produced. According to her account (Jackson, 2000: 240–241),

The landscape was done by "Mr Walker", and in September 1873 Wolf was requested to put in what he called a "Snow-storm of gulls". Wolf told Stevenson, "But unsuitable as this kind of work is to my eyesight, I find it hard to give kind old friends a blank refusal." Wolf visited Scoulton Mere before setting to work to draw in the black-headed gulls.

Wolf did not complete the gulls until June 1875, and when he sent Stevenson his bill on 6 July 1875, he observed that "These hundreds of small figures took a considerable time for which I must charge you fifteen Guineas"; "Both Stevenson and Walker were delighted with the result and Wolf was relieved not to have 'interfered' too much with Mr Walker's watercolour drawing" (Jackson, 2000: 245). Jackson thus assumed that this composite painting was the original work on which the lithograph was based, "with no recognition of Mr Walker's part in painting the background" (Jackson, 2000: 245).

It is therefore instructive to compare the 1865 lithograph with this first painting by Walker, now in the Norwich Castle Museum. Although clearly of the same general scene as

¹⁸ Norwich Castle Museum, catalogue no. NWHCM: 1951.235.1367. Attributed to James William Walker (1831–1898), and "The birds were painted by Wolf"; undated, unsigned. A watercolour with gouache on paper, 35.6 × 51 cm. The property of Henry Stevenson, it was sold on 12 September 1887 at auction by Messrs Spelman of Norwich. A marked-up catalogue now in the Norwich Castle Museum shows it was acquired by the eminent Norwich businessman and philanthropist, J[eremiah] J[ames] Colman (1830–1898) for 50 guineas; it was subsequently bequeathed to the Museum in 1946 (pers. comm., Clive Slater, 17 September 2020). Stephen (1915) lists some newspaper reports concerning Walker.

¹⁹ A brief account of Walker's life was provided by Dickes (1905: 595–597), listing a watercolour of the "hearth" at Scoulton Mere in the British Museum. The museum holds a collection of works by the Norwich School of painters purchased in 1900 from James Reeve (<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG43275> accessed 16 October 2020), but the Scoulton Mere painting (BM1902,0514.496) was bought from Reeve in 1902. It is signed "J W Walker 1874", and differs from his first painting, not only being smaller (10.6 × 18.9 cm), but also showing marked differences in the background tree-line, the island vegetation, and positions of the birds.

that depicted in the lithograph, the details, both of the myriad gulls and of their surroundings, are not identical. In particular, compared with the lithograph, Walker's painting shows no water-lilies or gulls perching on bushes and stakes along the margin of the "hearth", and the two especially large bushes, shown there in the lithograph, are not in the painting. Furthermore, the painting appears to have been made from a higher viewpoint than that of the lithograph, since it shows clear water behind the island, not visible in the lithograph. Moreover, the background tree-line is quite different; and the surface of the water is extremely bright, reflecting the distant trees and shrubs on the island, which is not a feature of the lithograph, the foreground being largely occupied by water-lilies (not in the painting). These facts lead me to conclude that the lithograph must have been copied from a different painting from this one in the Norwich Castle Museum.

This conclusion is supported by Alfred Newton's detailed description of the original painting said to have been made by Wolf in 1862 (see Southwell, 1890: 328):

Nearest to the spectator's eye are the downy young, that have not left the nest many days, seeking shelter among the water-lilies ... In the middle-distance is the hearth, with its rough herbage, that hides half the birds which have settled upon it, while others, perching awkwardly on the stakes driven into its margin, or even on the willow-bushes that grow here and there, exhibit themselves prominently.

All those features are discernible in the lithographic frontispiece; the original painting is apparently lost. Much must depend, of course, on the accuracy of the information at our disposal, but it is hard to believe, in view of the unimpeachable reputations of the observers and correspondents involved, that these assembled facts might be unreliable.

Hence, accepting the incorrect date of 1872 for the Scoulton visit to be a typographical error for 1862 as previously discussed, the following explanation of the attribution of the 1865 lithograph of Scoulton Mere is offered:

1) Three original paintings of Scoulton Mere "hearth" were made. The first was by Wolf in 1862, as explicitly stated by Southwell and corroborated by Newton's precise description (Southwell, 1890). Another (in the Norwich Castle Museum) was by Walker, perhaps in the summer of 1873 (suggested by letters cited by Jackson, 2000), and yet another (in the British Museum; see footnote 19) was by Walker in 1874.

2) Wolf's original painting, now lost, which included both scenery and birds, is thus clearly identifiable as the basis of the lithograph transferred to the stone, apparently by Jury (with Van Voorst's 1865 imprint).

3) Walker's unsigned scenic painting in the Norwich Castle Museum was made some eleven years later than Wolf's, and is different in many respects. Wolf's eyesight by that time had seriously deteriorated, which is why he took almost another two years to complete his painstaking addition of the birds in 1875.

4) Walker's other painting, signed and dated 1874, in which he included the birds, is now in the British Museum; it is different yet again from his slightly earlier painting, apparently in 1873, and also from Wolf's of 1862.

5) If Wolf did not finalize his addition of the gulls to Walker's first painting until June 1875, that composite work clearly could not have been the source of the 1865 lithograph (*pace* Jackson, 2000). Neither could Walker's other painting of 1874.

6) Walker's first painting was possibly intended to celebrate Stevenson's term as President of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists' Society for 1871–1872, during when he

had led a members' visit to Scoulton Mere (Stevenson, 1872b: 11) and had also contributed a detailed account of the gullery to the society's Transactions (Stevenson, 1872a). That might have been why, against his better judgement, Wolf undertook the addition of the birds as a kindness, though he still submitted a bill [!] (Jackson, 2000: 240). Stevenson kept the painting until 1887, when he sold it on moving house (see footnote 18). The attribution in the auction catalogue would therefore have been absolutely reliable: "Lot 268: Scoulton Gullery – the Landscape by J. W. Walker, Birds by J. Wolf, the celebrated Bird Artist. A unique and magnificent work". Walker's second painting, in the British Museum, may have been done specially for James Reeve, curator of the Norwich Castle Museum, who was also a notable personal collector of paintings by the Norwich School.

7) The birds drawn by Jury for the 1865 lithograph are less precisely rendered than those on the later painting by Walker and Wolf, despite the latter's eyesight problems at that time (1873–1875). In 1868 Wolf had already told Newton that his eyesight was seriously suffering and his lithography was getting worse, and by then both Jury and Smit were drawing lithographs for him (Jackson, 2000: 239). It is quite probable, therefore, that in 1865 he already felt that he needed the help of Jury to draw on the stone.

8) If the foregoing inferences are correct, they support this explanation of why the 1865 lithograph was attributed to Wolf (the original artist) and Jury (the lithographer), without mentioning Walker, whose own paintings of Scoulton Mere were done considerably later.

Publisher's cloth cases

Van Voorst, or his successors Gurney & Jackson, of London are the first-named publishers on the title-pages of the three volumes, but all three were printed by Matchett and Stevenson or their successive firms in Norwich. It therefore seems fairly likely that the casing was done locally in Norwich, though these printing firms are not recorded among provincial binders by Ramsden (1954) or Ball (1985), nor have any binders' tickets so far been found in any volume. Cloth-grain described herein is classified according to the system of Krupp (2008). The styles of casing are arranged in estimated chronological order, based on the confirmed dates of the volumes, the blocking styles, and the end-paper designs.

Case a: apparently the earliest style (Figure 13). Although volumes I and II were published more than three years apart, almost all pairs of copies that I have seen are in this same style, using apparently the same dark green, sand-grained cloth (**Krupp San1**). The dimensions of the boards are 226 × 140 mm. Both boards are blocked in blind with a mitred double-ruled border; the outer rule 3.5 mm wide, the inner 0.5 mm, separated by 1.0 mm. Within the border is a 3.5 mm wide, equally-spaced, triple-ruled frame, each rule 0.5 mm wide. In each inner corner of the frame is a floral-foliar device (see Fig. 13). The spine has triple rules of 0.5/2.5/0.5 mm at head and tail, and is lettered in gilt, thus:

"BIRDS | OF | NORFOLK | [11 mm rule] | STEVENSON | VOL. I. [or II.] | VAN VOORST"

The end-papers are brown; all page edges trimmed. Volume I usually has no advertisements, but in BHL2 (this copy apparently cased after volume III was published), advertisements typically found in volume II are present. Volume II usually has two leaves advertising volume II with reviews of volume I, as well as advertisements for others of Van Voorst's ornithological books; occasionally lacking, as in BHL3. No binder's ticket.

Case b: apparently the earliest style for volume III only (Figure 14), which is wire-stitched rather than sewn. Although 20–24 years later than volumes I and II, this case is in a similar dark green cloth (**Krupp San1**), with a superficially similar, but slightly different

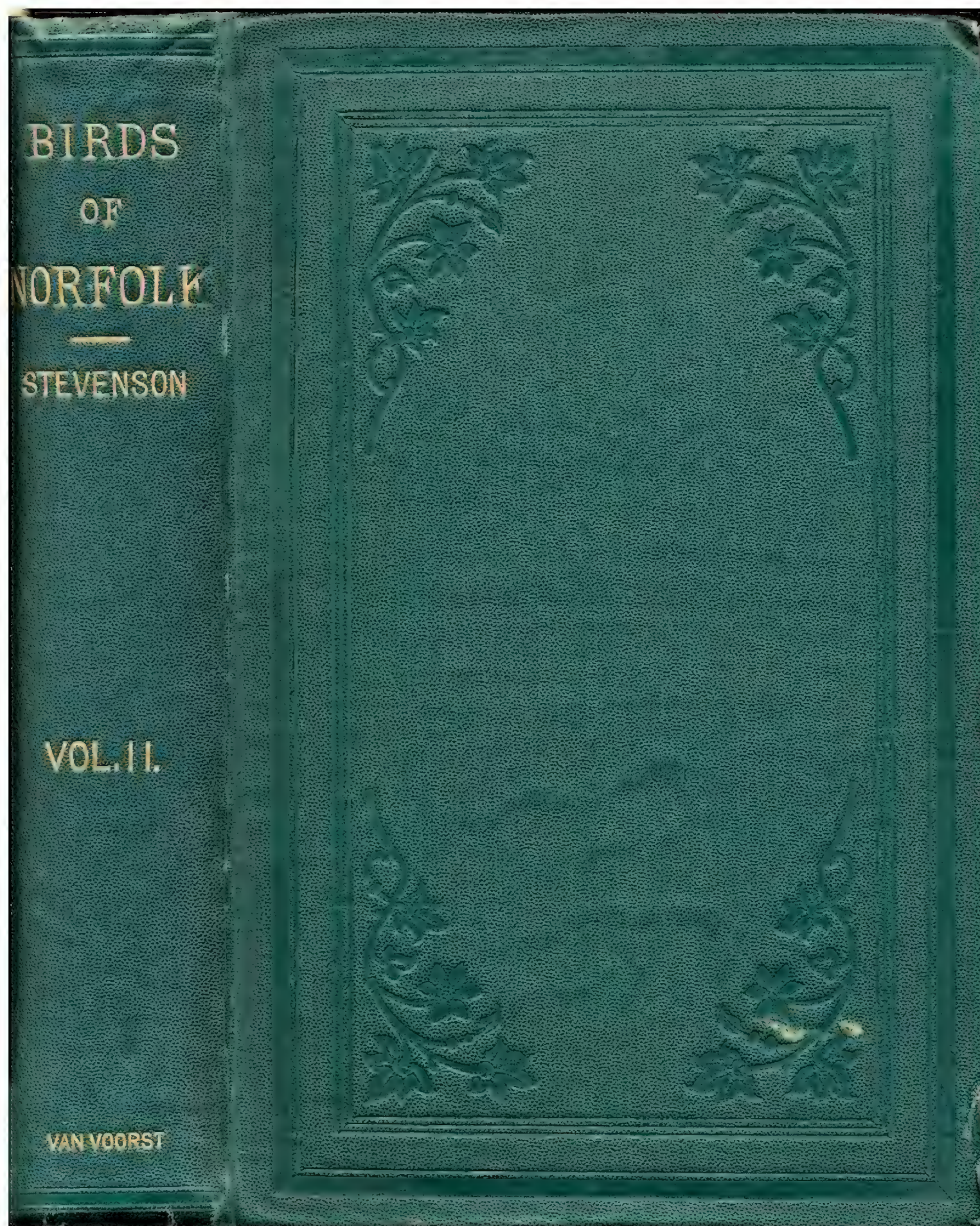


Figure 13. Case a on volume II of *The Birds of Norfolk* (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).

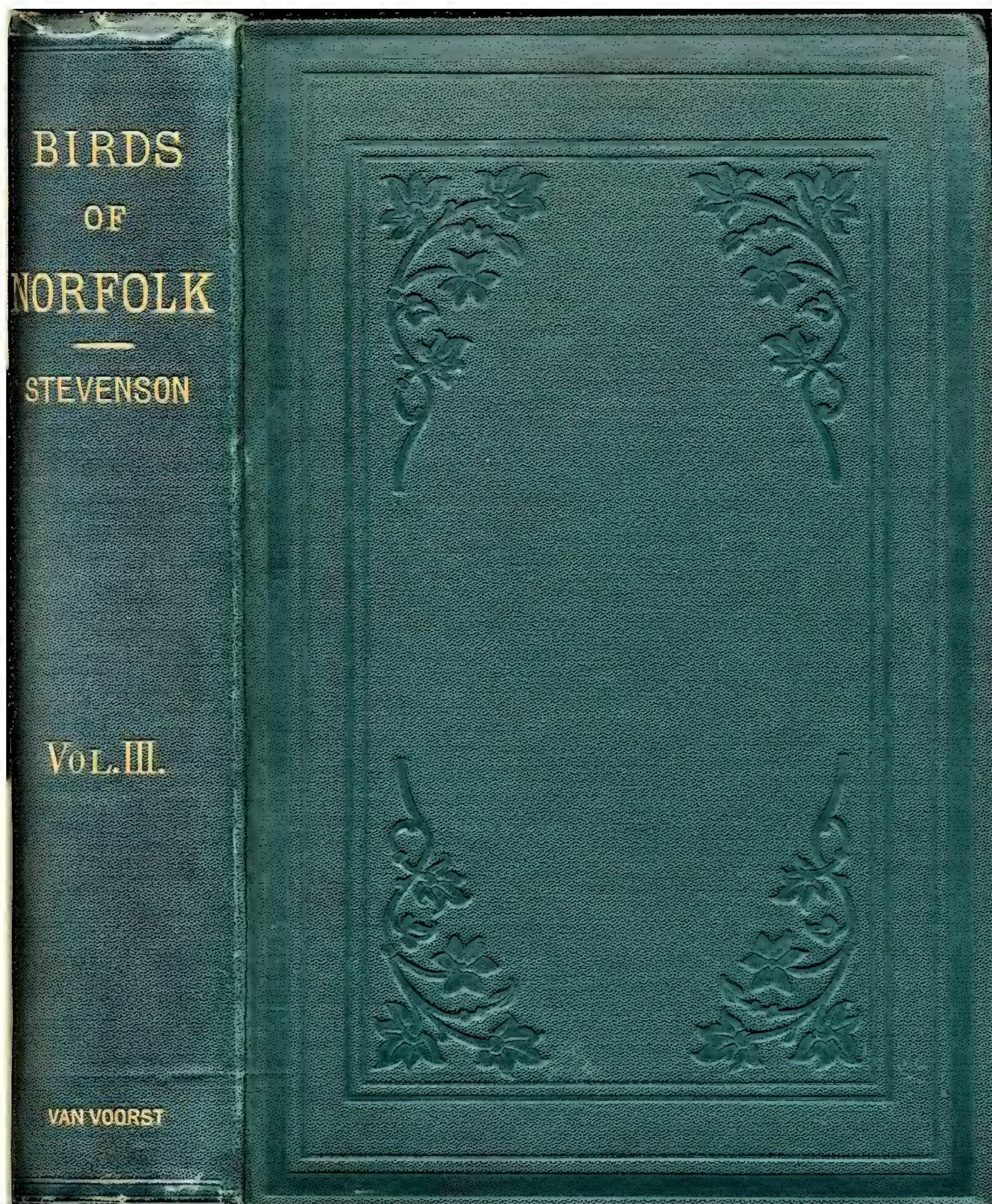


Figure 14. Case **b** on volume III of *The Birds of Norfolk* (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).



Figure 15. End-paper of foliar design associated with case-style **b** of *The Birds of Norfolk* (R. B. Williams, personal collection, 2020).

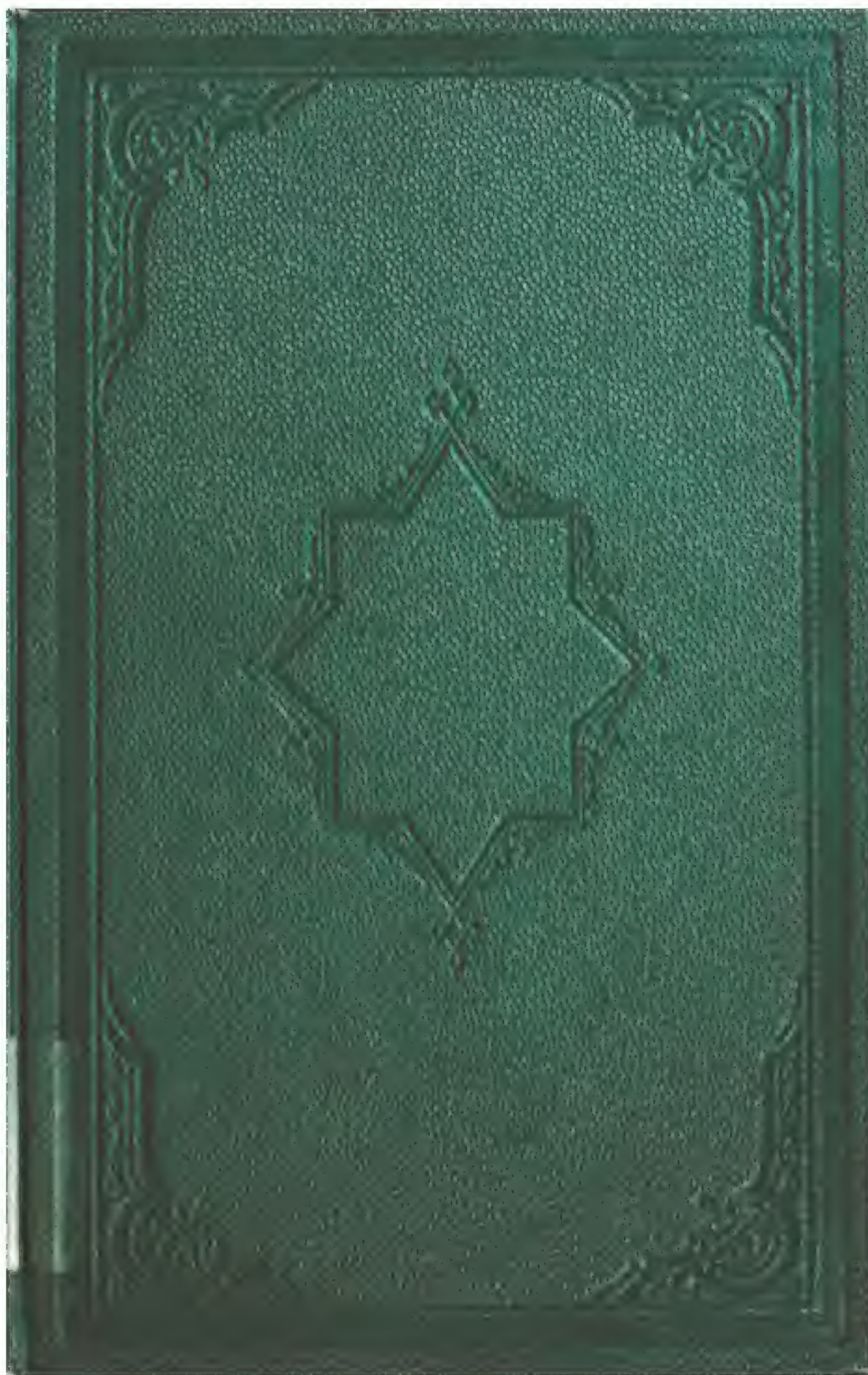


Figure 16. Case **c** on volume II of *The Birds of Norfolk* (American Museum of Natural History (BHL1), digitized by the Biodiversity Heritage Library, accessed 2020).



Figure 17. End-paper of large diaper design associated with case-style **c** of *The Birds of Norfolk* (American Museum of Natural History (BHL1), digitized by the Biodiversity Heritage Library, accessed 2020).

blind design on both boards (dimensions 226 × 140 mm). The double-ruled border is not mitred; the outer rule is 2.5 mm wide, the inner 0.5 mm, separated by 2.5 mm. Within the border is a 3.5 mm wide double-ruled frame, the outer rule is 1.0 mm wide, the inner 0.5 mm. In each inner corner of the frame is the same floral-foliar device as for case **a**. The spine has triple rules of 0.5/2.0/0.5 mm at head and tail, and is lettered in gilt, thus:

“BIRDS | OF | NORFOLK | [11 mm rule] | STEVENSON | VOL. III.] | VAN VOORST”

The end-papers usually have a foliar pattern (Figure 15) typical of the 1880s (Table 1); all page edges trimmed. No advertisements or binder’s ticket. Occasionally, copies of volumes I or II may be found in this cloth design, with either uniform brown or foliar patterned end-papers.

Case **c**: Rarely (BHL1) a complete set of the three volumes may all be in a differently designed cloth (Figure 16), with end-papers of large diapers (12 mm high), typical of the 1890s (Figure 17), apparently later than the foliar pattern usually found in originally cased copies of volume III. Included advertisements are as in early issued copies. Uniform sets could only have been cased after all three volumes had been published, presumably quite late in the 1890s (Table 1). Casing is in a dark green, pebble-grained cloth (**Krupp San5**). Unfortunately, it was not possible to ascertain the spine lettering or the page and board dimensions from the digitized copy BHL1 (Figure 16).

Hence, originally issued copies of volumes I (1867) and II (1870) occur in case **a** (RBW1–5; BHL3); and copies of volume III (1890) in case **b** (RBW1–3; BHL3). Complete sets sold perhaps soon after 1890 may be entirely in case **b** (BHL2) or, if maybe a little later, entirely in case **c** (BHL1).

Volume III (1890) provides a late example of the use of staples (known in the book-trade as “wire stitching”) as a substitute for sewing that was introduced commercially in about 1875 but was dying out by the late 1880s; the gatherings are stapled to a coarse cloth backing, as described by Gaskell (1974: 234). Unfortunately, this has typically given rise to rust marks and damage to the spine-folds of the gatherings (see Figure 5), often leading to their coming loose from the binding.

PUBLISHING HISTORY

Assiduous preparation

Stevenson had kept a diary of his natural-history observations from the age of 16 years until a few weeks before he died (J. H. Gurney, junior, 1920), and he “was a frequent contributor of notes on occurrences of rare birds in Norfolk to the *Zoologist* for 1853 and onwards ... he has several communications—generally on Norfolk occurrences—in nearly every volume from that year onwards” (Mullens & Swann, 1917: 560). Southwell (1890: xi) further noted that “Mr. Stevenson was also the author of the ‘List of Norfolk Birds,’ in White’s ‘History and Directory of the County of Norfolk,’ in the editions of 1864 and 1883, as well as of many communications to the ‘Field’ and ‘Land and Water,’ but the work which established his fame as a field ornithologist was his ‘Birds of Norfolk’ ...” His copious papers (see Royal Society of London, 1871: 828, 1879: 1014; Mullens & Swann, 1917: 561–562) were the foundation of this monumental book, and he was always developing his work, as may be seen by a comparison of his original list of Norfolk birds (Stevenson, 1864) and *The Birds of Norfolk*, which itself was continually being expanded during its progress.

In the 1864 announcement, in Gurney's *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Raptorial Birds in the Norfolk and Norwich Museum*, that *The Birds of Norfolk* was in preparation (see p. 156), it is noted that, in treating a potential total of 293 species,

... a short biographical sketch is appended to the more common residents and migrants, and every recorded instance of the occurrence in Norfolk of rare stragglers, has been carefully gleaned from the pages of earlier writers and more modern Natural History journals. A large proportion of the work is also compiled from the Author's own notes, which comprise every event of Ornithological interest in the County during the last fourteen years; whilst personal explorations of the principal "Broads," and nearly the entire line of coast from Yarmouth to Lynn, has enabled him to ascertain accurately the species which still breed in those districts, and to compare the present with the past condition of the "Birds of Norfolk."

Although 293 species were originally promised, the actual total was 312, but Southwell finally removed six (Appendix D of volume III). About 45% (142) of the species appeared in volume I, allocated an average of almost 3 pages each. In excusing himself for the delay in publication of volume II, and also the modification of his original plan, Stevenson explained (page v of the preface to volume II) that his extensive enquiries about the Great Bustard "stopped the way for a considerable period". Furthermore, "As regards the extension of the work, I may add that the favourable criticism that has, at all hands, been bestowed upon those biographical sketches, whereby in my first issue I sought to interest even non-ornithological readers in the life history of our "feathered favourites" left me no option but to describe, in like manner, the more familiar forms amongst our waders and wild fowl ..." (p. vi). This resulted in only 76 species being described in volume II, with 5¾ pages devoted to each; and the Anatidae and other water birds being consigned to a third volume comprising 94 species, allocated 3¾ pages each.

In his "Memoir of the Author, Henry Stevenson, F.L.S." published in volume III of *The Birds of Norfolk*, Southwell (1890: xi–xii) provided further explanation:

The original plan of the "Birds of Norfolk" seems to have been on a much more modest scale than that of the finished work. A short account of each species was written in a series of note books which from internal evidence I should imagine were finished about the year 1863; these formed the basis of the articles, but as they finally appeared they had been greatly expanded, and in most cases entirely re-written, the information being brought fully up to the time when each successive portion went to press, and so great was the author's desire for accuracy and completeness that in some cases even sheets which had been printed off were cancelled in favour of more correct or more recent information. I believe it was impossible for any book to have been written with a greater regard to absolute truth or more conscientiously than the "Birds of Norfolk." Added to this, Mr. Stevenson, although the result was as a rule charming, was by no means a rapid writer, and his habit of verifying every fact for himself, or obtaining his information where possible at first hand, rendered his progress slow, and his first volume was so much delayed that its preface was not dated till December, 1866. The second volume appeared in September, 1870 ... From that time the work proceeded still more slowly, owing to ill health and other causes, which often necessitated its being laid aside for considerable periods ... The last article written by Mr. Stevenson was on the gadwall, which, although finished and in type, was never wholly printed off; the last portion, I believe, going to press in 1877, and from that time the work was never resumed.

One might wonder whether Stevenson had tired of the intensive work involved, since despite cessation of work on his book, apparently in 1877, he continued to write papers for serial publications until his death in 1888. John Henry Gurney, junior (1848–1922), in an account of Stevenson's friends and contemporaries, commented that "Continued ill-health and loss of money clouded the latter years" (J. H. Gurney, junior, 1920: 10). It is a moot point, however, whether financial difficulties really could have led to Stevenson's abandonment of his book, since it was apparently well received, so presumably yielded a reasonable return. In fact, Stevenson's personal estate at death²⁰ was valued gross at £3,014 18s., which in 2019 would have had a purchasing power of £226,100 or a "prestige value" (a measure of economic status) of £1,665,000.²¹ His final wealth was, therefore, fairly considerable.

Of course, the great value and difficulty of the task of completion of Stevenson's book with which Southwell was charged²² should not be overlooked (see Long, 1910: 136):

The publication by which Mr. Southwell will be best remembered, however, and which perhaps, and deservedly so, brought to him the greatest amount of credit, was the completion, in 1890, of the third volume of Stevenson's 'Birds of Norfolk,' from letters and other manuscripts left by the author. It was no easy task to pick up the threads of the author of what has been described as a "model county ornithology," but Southwell did it, and did it well, supplementing the author's notes with much useful information of his own. The universal approbation that was accorded the publication of this third volume renders any posthumous criticism superfluous. He was proud of his share in introducing the Sooty Shearwater (*Puffinus griseus*), the Mediterranean [*sic*, actually Adriatic] Black-headed Gull (*Larus melanocephalus*), the Caspian Plover (*Ægialitis asiatica*) and the Wall-Creeper (*Tichodroma murania* [*sic*]) to the Norfolk List of Birds.

The printers and publishers

Although probably not a unique situation, it is certainly rare that successive volumes of a work have been printed by different firms. Printing of *The Birds of Norfolk* was by Matchett and Stevenson of the Market Place, Norwich (see volume I, p. [446]), and later by Stevenson and Co. (see volume II, p. [450]) and the Norfolk Chronicle Co., Limited (see volume III, p. 432). However, these three printing companies comprised a succession of the same family business, of which the author was a member (Mullens & Swann, 1917: 561; Southwell, 1890: [viii]). As well as being the printers, they also acted as the publishers in the provinces, while John Van Voorst of London was the primary publisher of volumes I and II; Van Voorst's successors, Gurney & Jackson became the London publishers for volume III.

This is but one of several instances of Van Voorst's co-publishing of books on local floras or faunas with a provincial printer-cum-publisher, which had the advantage of facilitating close supervision by a resident author of the often highly-technical printing. Matchett and Stevenson had previously been the printers (between 1861 and 1864) and provincial co-

²⁰ England and Wales Government Probate Death Index 1858–2019, accessed 15 October 2020 (<https://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=GBOR%2FGOVPROBATE%2F1888%2FS006038-STEVENSON-1888&parentid=GBOR%2FGOVPROBATE%2FC%2F1888-1888%2F00041517>)

²¹ See <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php>, accessed 16 October 2020.

²² Southwell's working copy of *The Birds of Norfolk* was presented to Norwich Castle Museum, with many others of his books, by his daughters in 1909 (Leney, 1910: 99).

publishers with Van Voorst of another ornithological work of local interest, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Raptorial Birds in the Norfolk and Norwich Museum* (J. H. Gurney, senior, 1864). Van Voorst and Stevenson must therefore have developed a valuable working relationship, which would presumably have suggested a potentially fruitful co-operation on *The Birds of Norfolk*. Whether Stevenson financed it himself is not known, but that seems likely, since he was at its inception a proprietor of the family printing business (see the *Norfolk Chronicle* of 16 April 1864, p. 1).

Compositorial practice

The aberrant signing of gatherings in the composition of volume III of *The birds of Norfolk* is truly remarkable (Williams, 2020). Might the history of the printing firm involved have any bearing on this? As already mentioned, the firms that printed the three volumes were successive re-organizations of the same family business. Their compositors had apparently adhered to traditional practice from at least 1861 (about when printing had begun for J. H. Gurney, senior's, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Raptorial Birds*) to 1870 (volume II of *The birds of Norfolk*). However, by the time volume III was published in 1890, the contemporary firm – the Norfolk Chronicle Co., Limited, which was incorporated in 1886 (Mullens & Swann, 1917: 561; Southwell, 1890: viii) – had existed for four years, during which time it developed distinctive compositorial conventions that appear to have begun as early as 1877 (see below). By the late 1890s, the use of a full alphabet in the sequence of signatures had become a feature of the printing of the Norfolk Chronicle Co. (Williams, 2020).

A major complication is that the letterpress of volume III was printed over a long, rather crucial, period. Gatherings B–W were apparently typeset and printed in the period leading up to 1877. Southwell (1890: xii) noted that ‘the last article written by Mr Stevenson was on the gadwall, which, although finished and in type, was never wholly printed off; the last portion, I believe, going to press in 1877, and from that time the work was never resumed’. Indeed, page 160 of volume III ends with an incomplete sentence, and page 161 begins with Southwell's note that “All efforts to find the remaining portion of the article [on the Gadwall, *Anas strepera*] printed in 1877, which breaks off at the end of the last page, having failed, though it is known that the article had been completed, I have done my best from other sources to supply the deficiency.” This explains why signatures J and U were omitted from the first sequence of gatherings, as was the usual practice during that period, but not why the final gathering printed in 1877 was signed ‘W’, which was certainly not. This perhaps resulted from the experimental introduction of a full, twenty-six-letter alphabet for signatures about that time. Although Stevenson failed, for unknown reasons, to complete his book in 1877, he lived until August 1888, still working until June of that year (Southwell, 1890: xii).

Shortly after this date, Southwell took up the completion of the volume, and internal references suggest that he spent 1889 and 1890 working on the text, which was set and printed in this same period.²³ Whilst the appearance of the aberrant signature W in 1877 suggests that the full alphabet for signatures was at least being experimented with at this

²³ Evidence from the year 1889 is included on pp. 163–414, but the first mention of 1890 (February 1890) occurs on p. 334, and is mentioned regularly up to p. 410. Printing must have continued at least until September 1890, the date of the Introduction (see p. vii) and a note on p. xiii.

period, it was still not fully adopted a decade and more later, since the gatherings of *The Birds of Norfolk* printed in the period 1889–1890 omit signature 2J, although they do include signatures 2U, 2V and 2W. This suggests that the firm's compositorial practices remained in a state of flux for some years, apparently becoming finalized only during the 1890s (Williams, 2020).

TAXONOMIC AND NOMENCLATURAL CONSIDERATIONS

"I have adopted both the nomenclature and systematic arrangement of Yarrell's 'British Birds,' as being the most familiar and, therefore, easiest of reference" (Stevenson, 1866 [1867]: xi). It is inferred from the dates of Stevenson's volumes that he was referring to Yarrell's third edition of 1856, corroborated by his specifying that particular edition in volume II (pp. 17, 26).²⁴ Accordingly, I have compared the texts of Stevenson's and Yarrell's respective monographs. Predictably, the order of species in *The Birds of Norfolk* follows, more or less, that in *A History of British Birds*, omitting those that Stevenson or Southwell judged not to be Norfolk birds, while adding twelve whose inclusion in the Norfolk list had been justified by post-1856 observations. Stevenson stated in his first volume that "A statistical table of species will be found appended to the second volume, showing under the head of Residents the indigenous birds, and those which receive additions to their numbers in autumn and winter; and under the head of Migrants, the periodical, occasional, and accidental visitants" (Stevenson, 1866 [1867]: xiv); however, no such table was published in any of the three volumes.

For birds, perhaps more than for most other animal groups, English-speaking professionals and amateurs alike tend to employ vernacular names. For that reason, differences between such names as used by Stevenson and Yarrell have been noted in addition to differences between the scientific names. Whilst differences between vernacular names and between the spellings of some scientific names are fairly frequent, substantive differences between nomenclatural combinations in scientific names are rather rare. "In such few cases, however, as I have deemed it necessary to differ, even from such an authority, for the sake of specific distinction, (vide *Falco candicans*, *Salicaria strepera*, &c.), the motive for so doing has been fully explained in the text" (Stevenson, 1866 [1867]: xi). Differences between Stevenson's and Yarrell's orthographies are not accompanied by any explanations. In some cases, they appear to be intentionally idiosyncratic, but in others they may involve typographic errors.

Taxonomy

Although the current recommendations of the *International Code of Zoological Nomenclature* (International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature, 1999) are far more regularized than the customary practices of Victorian scientists, the problems that they are designed to solve are long-standing, in particular with regard to the application of the Law of Priority in the case of synonymic specific epithets, and to the classification of species at the

²⁴ Southwell, on p. vi of his introduction to volume III, states that he also has followed Yarrell's third edition, although he refers to the fourth edition (Yarrell, 1871–1885) where appropriate.

Table 2a. Comparisons of usage and spellings of vernacular and scientific names in volume I of Stevenson’s *The Birds of Norfolk* and volume I of Yarrell’s *A History of British Birds* (third edition, 1856).

Stevenson (volume I, 1866 [1867]) <i>The Birds of Norfolk</i>		Yarrell <i>A History of British Birds</i> (third edition, 1856)	
Vernacular name	Scientific name	Vernacular name	Scientific name
Greenland Falcon	<i>Falco candicans</i> (Gmelin)	Gyr-falcon	<i>Falco gyrfalco</i>
Kite	<i>Milvius iclinus</i> Savigny	Fork-tailed Kite	<i>Milvius vulgaris</i>
Rough-legged Buzzard	<i>Archibuteo lagopus</i> (Linnaeus)	Rough-legged Buzzard	<i>Buteo lagopus</i>
Montagu’s Harrier	<i>Circus cineraceus</i> (Montagu)	Montagu’s Harrier	<i>Circus Montagu</i>
Short-eared Owl	<i>Otus brachyotus</i> (Linnaeus)	Short-eared Owl	<i>Otus brachyotus</i>
Tawny Owl	<i>Syrnium stridulum</i> (Linnaeus)	Tawny Owl	<i>Syrnium stridula</i>
Hedge Sparrow	<i>Accentor modularis</i> (Linnaeus)	Hedge Accentor	<i>Accentor modularis</i>
Savi’s Warbler	<i>Salicaria luscinioides</i> (Savi)	Savi’s Warbler	<i>Salicaria luscinioides</i>
Reed Warbler	<i>Salicaria strepera</i> (Vieillot)	Reed Warbler	<i>Salicaria arundinacea</i>
Blackcap	<i>Curruca atricapilla</i> (Linnaeus)	Blackcap Warbler	<i>Curruca atricapilla</i>
Golden-crested Wren	<i>Regulus cristatus</i> Koch	Golden-crested Regulus	<i>Regulus cristatus</i>
Great Titmouse	<i>Parus major</i> Linnaeus	Great Tit	<i>Parus major</i>
Blue Titmouse	<i>Parus caeruleus</i> Linnaeus	Blue Tit	<i>Parus caeruleus</i>
Coal Titmouse	<i>Parus ater</i> Linnaeus	Cole Tit	<i>Parus ater</i>
Marsh Titmouse	<i>Parus palustris</i> Linnaeus	Marsh Tit	<i>Parus palustris</i>
Long-tailed Titmouse	<i>Parus caudatus</i> Linnaeus	Long-tailed Tit	<i>Parus caudatus</i>
Bearded Titmouse	<i>Calamophilus biarmicus</i> (Linnaeus)	Bearded Tit	<i>Calamophilus biarmicus</i>

Different spellings of specific epithet Different specific epithets Generic name reassignment

Table 2b. Comparisons of usage and spellings of vernacular and scientific names in volume I of Stevenson’s *The Birds of Norfolk* and volumes I and II of Yarrell’s *A History of British Birds* (third edition, 1856).

Stevenson (volume I, 1866 [1867]) <i>The Birds of Norfolk</i>			Yarrell <i>A History of British Birds</i> (third edition, 1856)	
Vernacular name	Scientific name	Page numbers	Vernacular name	Scientific name
Waxwing	<i>Bombycilla garrulus</i> (Linnaeus)	154–160	Bohemian Waxwing	<i>Bombycilla garrula</i>
Pied Wagtail	<i>Motacilla yarrelli</i> Gould	160–163	Pied Wagtail	<i>Motacilla Yarrellii</i>
Yellow Wagtail	<i>Motacilla rayi</i> Bonaparte	165–166	Ray’s Wagtail	<i>Motacilla Rayi</i>
Rock-pipit	<i>Anthus obscurus</i> (Latham)	169–171	Rock Pipit	<i>Anthus petrosus</i>
Yellow Bunting	<i>Emberiza citrinella</i> Linnaeus	196–198	Yellow Bunting, Yellow Ammer	<i>Emberiza citrinella</i>
Brambling	<i>Fringilla montifringilla</i> Linnaeus	202–206	Mountain Finch, Brambling	<i>Fringilla montifringilla</i>
Greenfinch	<i>Coccothraustes chloris</i> (Linnaeus)	218–221	Greenfinch, Green Grosbeak	<i>Coccothraustes chloris</i>
Twite	<i>Linota montium</i> (Temminck)	231–233	Mountain Linnet, Twite	<i>Linota montium</i>
Hooded Crow	<i>Corvus cornix</i> Linnaeus	260–264	Hooded Crow, Royston Crow	<i>Corvus cornix</i>
Nutcracker	<i>Nucifraga caryocatactes</i> (Linnaeus)	281–285	Nutcracker	<i>Nucifraga caryocatactes</i>
House-martin	<i>Hirundo urbana</i> Linnaeus	328–338	Martin	<i>Hirundo urbana</i>
Sand-martin	<i>Hirundo riparia</i> Linnaeus	338–343	Sand Martin, Bank Martin	<i>Hirundo riparia</i>
Alpine Swift	<i>Cypselus alpinus</i> (Scopoli)	346–347	Alpine Swift, White-bellied Swift	<i>Cypselus alpinus</i>
Nightjar	<i>Caprimulgus europæus</i> Linnaeus	348–350	Nightjar	<i>Caprimulgus Europeanus</i>
Ringdove	<i>Columba columbus</i> Linnaeus	351–355	Ring Dove, Wood Pigeon	<i>Columba columbus</i>
Pallas’s Sand-grouse	<i>Syrhaptes paradoxus</i> (Pallas)	376–404	Not included	Not included

Different spellings of specific epithet

Different specific epithets

Typographic error

Table 4a. Comparisons of usage and spellings of vernacular and scientific names in volume III of Stevenson’s *The Birds of Norfolk* and volume III of Yarrell’s *A History of British Birds* (third edition, 1856).

Stevenson (volume III, 1890) <i>The Birds of Norfolk</i>			Yarrell <i>A History of British Birds</i> (third edition, 1856)		
Vernacular name	Scientific name	Page numbers	Vernacular name	Scientific name	Volume & page numbers
Red-breasted Flycatcher	<i>Muscicapa parva</i> Bechstein	xiii	Not included	Not included	Not included
White-fronted Goose	<i>Anser albifrons</i> (Gmelin)	32–34	White-fronted Goose, Laughing Goose	<i>Anser albifrons</i>	Vol. III, pp. 162–165
Bernacle Goose	<i>Bernicla leucopsis</i> (Temminck)	34–36	Bernicle Goose	<i>Bernicla leucopsis</i>	Vol. III, pp. 166–168
Egyptian Goose	<i>Anser aegyptiacus</i> (Linnaeus)	41–45	Egyptian Goose	<i>Anser aegyptiacus</i>	Vol. III, pp. 177–180
Whooper	<i>Cygnus ferus</i> Leach	45–53	Hooper, Elk or Whistling Swan	<i>Cygnus ferus</i>	Vol. III, pp. 191–197
Bewick’s Swan	<i>Cygnus bewicki</i> Yarrell	53–57	Bewick’s Swan	<i>Cygnus Bewickii</i>	Vol. III, pp. 198–208
Sheld Drake	<i>Tadorna vulpanser</i> (Linnaeus)	121–134	Common Shelldrake, Shieldrake, Burrow Duck	<i>Tadorna vulpanser</i>	Vol. III, pp. 240–246
Shoveler	<i>Anas clypeata</i> Linnaeus	134–157	Shoveler, Blue-winged Shoveler, Broad-bill	<i>Anas clypeata</i>	Vol. III, pp. 247–253
Wild Duck	<i>Anas boscas</i> Linnaeus	165–170	Wild Duck [Mallard]	<i>Anas boschas</i>	Vol. III, pp. 265–277
Garganey	<i>Anas circia</i> Linnaeus	177–181	Garganey, Summer Teal	<i>Anas querquedula</i>	Vol. III, pp. 278–281
Eider Duck	<i>Somateria mollissima</i> (Linnaeus)	190–192	Eider Duck, St. Cuthbert’s Duck	<i>Somateria mollissima</i>	Vol. III, pp. 298–305
Steller’s Duck	<i>Somateria stelleri</i> (Pallas)	192–195	Steller’s Western Duck	<i>Somateria dispar</i>	Vol. III, pp. 306–309
Velvet Scoter	<i>Oedemia fusca</i> (Linnaeus)	195–197	Velvet Scoter, Velvet Duck	<i>Oidemia fusca</i>	Vol. III, pp. 314–318
Common Scoter	<i>Oedemia nigra</i> (Linnaeus)	197–199	Common Scoter	<i>Oidemia nigra</i>	Vol. III, pp. 319–323
Red-crested Pochard	<i>Fuligula rufina</i> (Pallas)	199–201	Red-crested Whistling Duck	<i>Fuligula rufina</i>	Vol. III, pp. 329–333
Pochard	<i>Fuligula ferina</i> (Linnaeus)	201–207	Pochard, Dun-bird	<i>Fuligula ferina</i>	Vol. III, pp. 334–338
Page’s Pochard	[A Pochard hybrid] (plate III)	207–208	Not included	Not included	Not included
Buffle-headed Duck	<i>Fuligula albeola</i> (Linnaeus)	222–223	Buffel-headed Duck	<i>Fuligula albeola</i>	Vol. III, pp. 377–380

Different spellings of specific epithet

Different specific epithets

Typographic error or misspelling (unjustified emendation)

Table 4b. Comparisons of usage and spellings of vernacular and scientific names in volume III of Stevenson’s *The Birds of Norfolk* and volume III of Yarrell’s *A History of British Birds* (third edition, 1856).

Stevenson (volume III, 1890) <i>The Birds of Norfolk</i>		Yarrell <i>A History of British Birds</i> (third edition, 1856)			
Vernacular name	Scientific name	Page numbers	Vernacular name	Scientific name	Volume & page numbers
Great Crested Grebe	<i>Podicipes cristatus</i> Linnaeus	233–245	Great-Crested Grebe	<i>Podiceps cristatus</i>	Vol. III, pp. 403–409
Red-necked Grebe	<i>Podicipes griseigena</i> (Boddaert)	245–248	Red-necked Grebe	<i>Podiceps rubricollis</i>	Vol. III, pp. 410–413
Sclavonian Grebe	<i>Podicipes auritus</i> (Linnaeus)	248–250	Sclavonian Grebe	<i>Podiceps cornutus</i>	Vol. III, pp. 414–419
Black-necked Grebe	<i>Podicipes nigricollis</i> Brehm	250–256	Eared Grebe	<i>Podiceps auritus</i>	Vol. III, pp. 420–422
Little Grebe	<i>Podicipes fluvialtilis</i> (Tunstall)	256–265	Little Grebe, Dabchick	<i>Podiceps minor</i>	Vol. III, pp. 423–427
Common Guillemot	<i>Uria troile</i> (Linnaeus)	275–279	Common Guillemot, Willock, Tinkershere	<i>Uria troile</i>	Vol. III, pp. 453–457
Little Auk	<i>Mergulus alle</i> (Linnaeus)	281–283	Little Auk, Common Rotche	<i>Mergulus melanoleucos</i>	Vol. III, pp. 468–471
Puffin	<i>Fratercula arctica</i> (Linnaeus)	284–285	Puffin, Sea Parrot, Coulterneb	<i>Fratercula arctica</i>	Vol. III, pp. 472–475
Shag	<i>Phalacrocorax graculus</i> (Linnaeus)	290–292	Shag, Green Cormorant	<i>Phalacrocorax graculus</i>	Vol. III, pp. 490–492
Gannet	<i>Sula bassana</i> (Linnaeus)	292–295	Gannet, Soland Goose	<i>Sula alba</i>	Vol. III, pp. 493–496
Sandwich Tern	<i>Sterna sandwicensis</i> Latham	298–300	Sandwich Tern	<i>Sterna Boysii</i>	Vol. III, pp. 501–504
Roseate Tern	<i>Sterna dougalli</i> Montagu	300–301	Roseate Tern	<i>Sterna Dougallii</i>	Vol. III, pp. 505–508
Common Tern	<i>Sterna fluvialtilis</i> Naumann	301–305	Common Tern	<i>Sterna hirundo</i>	Vol. III, pp. 509–511
Arctic Tern	<i>Sterna macrura</i> Naumann	305–306	Arctic Tern	<i>Sterna arctica</i>	Vol. III, pp. 512–516
Whiskered Tern	<i>Sterna hybrida</i> Pallas	306–307	Whiskered Tern	<i>Sterna leucopareia</i>	Vol. III, pp. 517–519
Black Tern	<i>Sterna nigra</i> Linnaeus	312–316	Black Tern	<i>Sterna fissipes</i>	Vol. III, pp. 528–531
Sabine’s Gull	<i>Larus sabinii</i> J. Sabine	319–320	Sabine’s Gull	<i>Larus Sabini</i>	Vol. III, pp. 548–553
Adriatic Black-headed Gull	<i>Larus melanocephalus</i> Natterer	333	Not included	Not included	Not included
Kittiwake	<i>Larus tridactylus</i> Linnaeus	334–335	Kittiwake Gull	<i>Larus tridactylus</i>	Vol. III, pp. 581–585
Iceland Gull	<i>Larus leucopterus</i> Faber	336	Iceland Gull, Lesser White-winged Gull	<i>Larus Icelandicus</i>	Vol. III, pp. 594–601

Different spellings of specific epithet

Different specific epithets

Typographic error or misspelling (unjustified emendation)

Table 4c. Comparisons of usage and spellings of vernacular and scientific names in volume III of Stevenson’s *The Birds of Norfolk* and volumes I and III of Yarrell’s *A History of British Birds* (third edition, 1856).

Stevenson (volume III, 1890) <i>The Birds of Norfolk</i>			Yarrell <i>A History of British Birds</i> (third edition, 1856)	
Vernacular name	Scientific name	Page numbers	Vernacular name	Scientific name
Glaucous Gull	<i>Larus glaucus</i> Fabricius	343–346	Glaucous Gull, Large White-winged Gull	<i>Larus glaucus</i>
Great Skua	<i>Stercorarius</i> <i>catarrhactes</i> (Linnaeus)	346–348	Common Skua	<i>Lestris cataractes</i>
Pomatorhine Skua	<i>Stercorarius pomatorhinus</i> (Temminck)	348–353	Pomarine Skua	<i>Lestris pomarinus</i>
Arctic Skua	<i>Stercorarius crepidatus</i> (Gmelin)	353–357	Richardson’s Skua	<i>Lestris richardsonii</i>
Buffon’s Skua	<i>Stercorarius parasiticus</i> (Linnaeus)	357–359	Buffon’s Skua	<i>Lestris buffonii</i>
Fulmar	<i>Fulmarus glacialis</i> (Linnaeus)	359–361	Fulmar Petrel	<i>Procellaria glacialis</i>
Capped Petrel	<i>Cearelata haesitata</i> (Kuhl)	361–364	Capped Petrel	<i>Procellaria haesitata</i>
Sooty Shearwater	<i>Puffinus griseus</i> (Gmelin)	364–365	Not included	Not included
Dusky Shearwater	<i>Puffinus obscurus</i> (Gmelin)	367–369	Dusky Petrel	<i>Puffinus obscurus</i>
Fork-tailed Petrel	<i>Procellaria leucorrhoa</i> Vieillot	369–371	Fork-tailed Petrel	<i>Thalassidroma leachii</i>
Storm Petrel	<i>Procellaria pelagica</i> Linnaeus	371–374	Storm Petrel	<i>Thalassidroma pelagica</i>
Golden Eagle	<i>Aquila chrysaetus</i> (Linnaeus)	375–376	Golden Eagle	<i>Aquila chrysaetos</i>
Lesser Grey Shrike	<i>Lanius minor</i> J. F. Gmelin	376–377	Not included	Not included
White’s Thrush	<i>Turdus varius</i> Pallas	377	White’s Thrush	<i>Turdus Whitei</i>
Icterine Warbler	<i>Hypolais icterina</i> (Vieillot)	378	Not included	Not included
Barred Warbler	<i>Sylvia nisoria</i> Bechstein	378	Not included	Not included
Serin	<i>Serinus hortulanus</i> K. L. Koch	379–380	Not included	Not included
Wall-creeper	<i>Tichodroma muraria</i> (Linnaeus)	380–382	Not included	Not included
Caspian Plover	<i>Aegialitis asiatica</i> (Pallas)	382–384	Not included	Not included
Generic name reassignment		Different spellings of specific epithet	Typographic error or misspelling (unjustified emendation)	

generic and higher levels. Unfortunately, however, neither Stevenson nor Southwell provided synonymies, and those given by Yarrell (1856) are incomplete and lack dates.

Therefore, Tables 2–4 were drawn up to show the differences between the scientific names adopted by those authors. To avoid confusion in searching for them in their original publications, all names in the tables herein are given as originally spelt (including ligatures, the use of which may have led to some errors in transcription or composition).²⁵ No attempt has been made to amend spellings in compliance with the *International Code of Zoological Nomenclature*, which has in many instances already been done by other modern authors. Reassignments of species to different genera are pointed out, but it is not always clear whether they might be attributable to Stevenson or Southwell, or whether they were following a previous author. Such matters are beyond the scope of this paper, and it is my intention simply to draw attention to these issues in the context of correct dating for specialists to investigate further.

Nomenclature

The issues of avian nomenclature in *The Birds of Norfolk* involve: 1) use of vernacular names, 2) taxonomic aspects of the scientific names, and 3) orthography of scientific names. I record only the nomenclatural acts and opinions of Stevenson and Southwell, rather than those of modern systematists, which are outside the scope of this paper.

Vernacular names

Tables 2–4 show the different vernacular names employed by Yarrell (1856), and Stevenson and Southwell. It is immediately apparent that whereas Yarrell tended to give, in several cases, a number of such names to a single species, Stevenson preferred to reduce the number to just one, presumably that which he considered to be of universal application. No further comments on that issue are therefore necessary here. It remains only to note that Stevenson reduced Yarrell's multiple vernacular names for various species to a single one on 28 occasions, and simplified or otherwise amended a single name on 25 occasions (Tables 2–4). Only once did Stevenson give two alternative vernacular names for a single species, adding the name of "waterhen" to the more widely-known name of "moorhen" for *Gallinula chloropus*.²⁶

Taxonomic issues

Nomenclatural acts dependent upon taxonomic issues in volume I are of particular importance considering their amended date of publication, herein corrected from 1866 to 1867.

²⁵ It is apparent that Stevenson or Yarrell may have misread the ligatures -æ- and -œ- in the older literature, which not infrequently have caused nomenclatural problems, as pointed out by David & Dickinson (2016).

²⁶ Note that John Henry Gurney, senior, (1819–1890), who was well known to Stevenson and was frequently cited in *The Birds of Norfolk* (see J. H. Gurney, junior, 1920), often used apparently local names, such as waterhen instead of moorhen (J. H. Gurney, senior, 1871).

Falco candicans (Gmelin) (Greenland Falcon: volume I, pp. 7–9): Stevenson discussed three northern falcons, *F. candicans*, *F. islandicus* and *F. gyrfalco*, pointing out that Yarrell (1856) had confused these species, and the true Norfolk species is in fact *F. candicans*, although not long previously (Stevenson, 1864) he had considered the correct name to be *F. greenlandicus*.

Milvus iclinus Savigny (Kite: volume I, pp. 26–27): Stevenson (1864) previously regarded the correct name of the kite as *Milvus vulgaris*, as had Yarrell (1856).

Archibuteo lagopus (Linnaeus) (Rough-legged Buzzard: volume I, pp. 29–32): reassigned from the genus *Buteo*, as used previously by Stevenson (1864) and Yarrell (1856).

Circus cineraceus (Montagu) (Montagu's Harrier: volume I, pp. 39–42): Yarrell (1856) regarded the correct name of Montagu's Harrier as *Circus montagui*, as did Stevenson (1864).

Phœnicura suecica (Linnaeus) (Blue-throated Warbler: volume I, pp. 96–97); *P. ruticilla* Swainson (Redstart: volume I, pp. 98–99); *P. tithys* (Scopoli) (Black Redstart: volume I, pp. 99–100): usage follows Yarrell (1856) in the generic assignment herein but previously, Stevenson (1864) inexplicably classified these three species under *Motacilla*.

Salicaria strepera (Vieillot) (Reed Warbler: volume I, pp. 115–119): Stevenson notes that he followed G. R. Gray²⁷ in adopting the specific epithet as *strepera*, correcting Yarrell's use of *Salicaria arundinacea*.

Motacilla rayi (Yellow Wagtail: volume I, pp. 165–166): Yarrell (1856) adopted the vernacular name Ray's Wagtail in place of the Yellow Wagtail, which Stevenson reversed. However, Stevenson (volume I, pp. 164–165) considered *M. flava* to be the correct name for the Grey-headed Wagtail, having previously (Stevenson, 1864) adopted it for Ray's Wagtail, while calling the Grey-headed Wagtail *M. neglecta*.

Anthus obscurus (Latham) (Rock-pipit: volume I, pp. 169–171): Stevenson adopted the name *Anthus obscurus*, rather than Yarrell's *Anthus petrosus*, with no stated reason.

Anas circia Linnaeus (Garganey: volume III, pp. 177–181): Southwell adopted the name *Anas circia*, rather than Yarrell's *Anas querquedula*, with no stated reason. However, as explained by Dickinson (in press), this situation no doubt arose because, following the Stricklandian Code of Nomenclature, Victorian ornithologists took Linnaeus's twelfth edition of his *Systema Naturae* (1766) instead of the tenth edition (1758) as the starting point of zoological nomenclature; hence the specific epithet *circia* of 1766 was for a short period used instead of the senior synonym *querquedula* of 1758.

Podicipes spp. (Grebes: volume III, pp. 233–265): Southwell rejected the older name *Podiceps* (Table 4b) on an ill-founded opinion of Alfred Newton (Stevenson & Southwell, 1890: 233).

Sterna sandvicensis Latham (Sandwich Tern: volume III, pp. 298–300): Southwell pointed out the priority of this name over the junior synonym *Sterna Boysii* as used by Yarrell (1856).

Stercorarius spp. (Skuas: volume III, pp. 346–359): The use of *Lestris* by Yarrell (1856) was rejected by Southwell in favour of the older name *Stercorarius*.

²⁷ In the source-work (Gray, 1850: 49) the "Reed Wren" was assigned to the genus *Calamodyta*.

Orthography

Whilst some differences between Stevenson's and Yarrell's spellings of scientific names (Tables 2–4) are probably misprints,²⁸ very few of which are noted in the errata list of each volume, others are certainly intentional, though whether justifiable is sometimes questionable. Stevenson's headings of scientific names of species are all in upper case, so that it is impossible to tell directly from them whether specific epithets involving personal or geographical names begin with upper case letters or not; however, if they might occur in the following text, they begin with lower case. Therefore, since that appears to be the convention that he adopted, all such epithets in Stevenson's book are shown herein as beginning with lower-case letters.

In the case of eponymous specific epithets, Yarrell (1856) most often, though not invariably, employed the ending “-ii”, which Stevenson rendered as “-i”. Examples are Yarrell's *Motacilla Yarrellii* (Table 2b); *Tringa Temminckii* and *Crex Baillonii* (Table 3); and *Cygnus Bewickii* and *Sterna Dougallii* (Table 4a). Sometimes, however, the situation is reversed, with Yarrell using “-i”, and Stevenson using “-ii”, for instance, *Scolopax sabinii* (Table 3) and *Larus sabinii* (Table 4b). In one case, that of *Motacilla rayi*, Stevenson and Yarrell concurred (Table 2b).

Another point of difference is in the occurrence of the ligatures “-æ-” and “-œ-”; sometimes Yarrell represented “-æ-” by “-e-”, whereas Stevenson instead used “-æ-”. Thus Yarrell employed an “-e-” in *Caprimulgus Europeus*, which Stevenson rendered as *Caprimulgus europæus* (Table 2b); and in *Anser Egyptiacus* which Stevenson called *Anser ægyptiacus* (Table 4a). However, in the case of the Stone Curlew, *Œdicnemus crepitans* Temminck, both authors used that same spelling of the generic name (Table 3). Both authors also used the same spelling of the specific epithet *hæsitata* for the Capped Petrel, although Stevenson assigned it to the genus *Œstrelata* and Yarrell to the genus *Procellaria* (Table 4c). Apparently due to a misprint, the name *Numenius phæopus*²⁹ appears in Yarrell's book, which Stevenson corrected to *Numenius phæopus* (Table 3).

Stevenson and Yarrell are also at variance regarding gender agreements of endings of adjectival specific epithets with their genera. Examples are: *Syrnium stridulum* (Linnaeus) (Tawny Owl: volume I, pp. 54–56), which Yarrell, and also Stevenson (1864), called *Syrnium stridula*; and *Bombycilla garrulus* (Linnaeus) (Waxwing: volume I, pp. 154–160), which Yarrell, and previously Stevenson (1864), called *Bombycilla garrula*. Other differences involve Latin or Greek endings of specific epithets, for instance, *Otus brachyotus* (Linnaeus) (Short-eared Owl: volume I, pp. 50–51), which Yarrell, and previously Stevenson (1864), called *Otus brachyotos*; and *Aquila chrysaetus*³⁰ (Linnaeus) (Golden Eagle: volume III, pp. 375–376), which Yarrell called *Aquila chrysaëtos*.

²⁸ For instance, “*Nucifraca*” is a misprint for “*Nucifraga*” (volume I, p. 281); and “*Crus*” is a misprint for “*Grus*” (volume II, p. 125).

²⁹ It appears consistently as *Numenius phæopus* in the synonymy.

³⁰ Stevenson used the spelling *chrysaëtos*, apparently inadvertently, in volume I (p. 4) but, on the errata slip, noted its correction to *chrysaëtus*, retaining the diacritic mark over the “e”, although Southwell did not use that form in volume III (Table 4).

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